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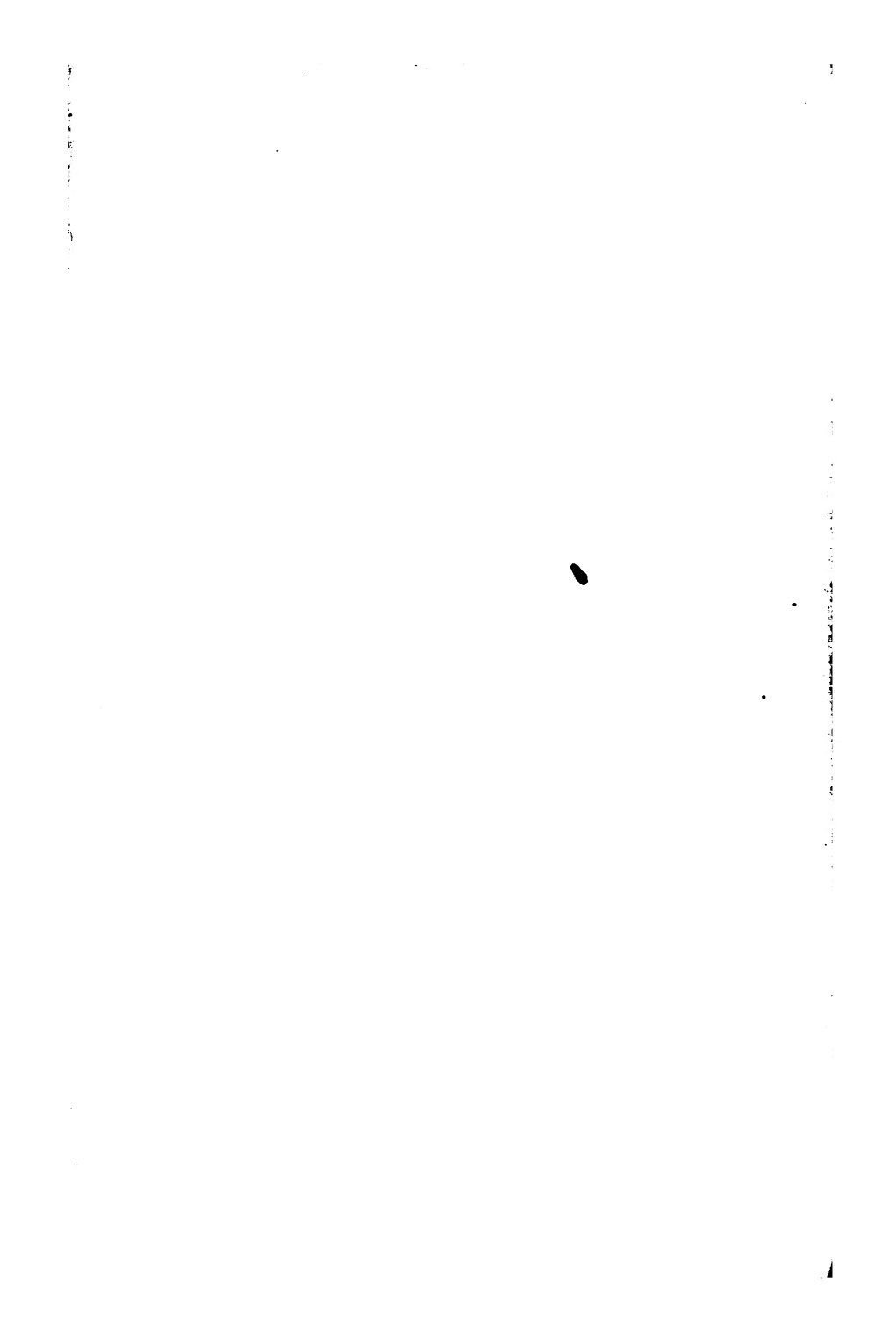
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THE STORY OF THE BOERS



PUBLISHED BY AU-
THORITY of the SOUTH
AFRICAN REPUBLICS





This One



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STEPHANUS J. PAULUS KRUGER,
President of the South African Republic.





The Story of the Boers

NARRATED BY
THEIR OWN LEADERS

Prepared under the Authority of
the South African Republics

By
C. W. VAN DER HOOGT

ILLUSTRATED

Preceded by
The Policy of Mediation

By MONTAGU WHITE

*Late Consul-General to the
South African Republics*



NEW YORK AND LONDON
HARPER & BROTHERS, *Publishers*

1900

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"NOR HAVE I EVER QUESTIONED THAT, IN THE BEGINNING OF THE TROUBLE, THE BOERS MET WITH MUCH OF WHICH TO COMPLAIN AT THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS. THEIR MALTREATMENT WAS NOT INTENTIONAL, INDEED, BUT RATHER A RESULT OF THE SYSTEMATIC *NEGLECT*,—TO USE A *MILD* WORD—OF COLONIES AND THEIR INHABITANTS."

H. RIDER HAGGARD,

IN THE DEDICATION OF

"THE SWALLOW: A TALE OF THE GREAT TREK."



PREFACE.

IT is with some hesitation that I venture to undertake the rewriting and enlargement of the former issue of this work, which appeared in pamphlet form under the title of "A Century of Injustice," but complying with the wishes of our struggling brethren, my dear friends and kinsmen in far South Africa, I have endeavored to explain the real "grievances" of the Boer Governments against the wrongdoings of their oppressors. I had only one object in view—namely, to enlighten the American people, especially those in high authority. It is gratifying to state that the book has been favorably received, for many readers have assured me that, after the reading of the plain facts, they have become convinced that the cause of the Boers is right.

The unexpectedly large demand from all over the country and from all classes of people, as well as the urgent requests of many sympathizers and societies, has induced me to publish the work in a new and revised edition under the title of "The Story of the Boers." The new work has been prepared with great care and is much more complete. It contains,

among other important official documents, the treaties of Sand River, of Pretoria, and of the London convention.

The friendly attitude of the press toward our sister republics, especially in my own city, has greatly encouraged me in undertaking this work.

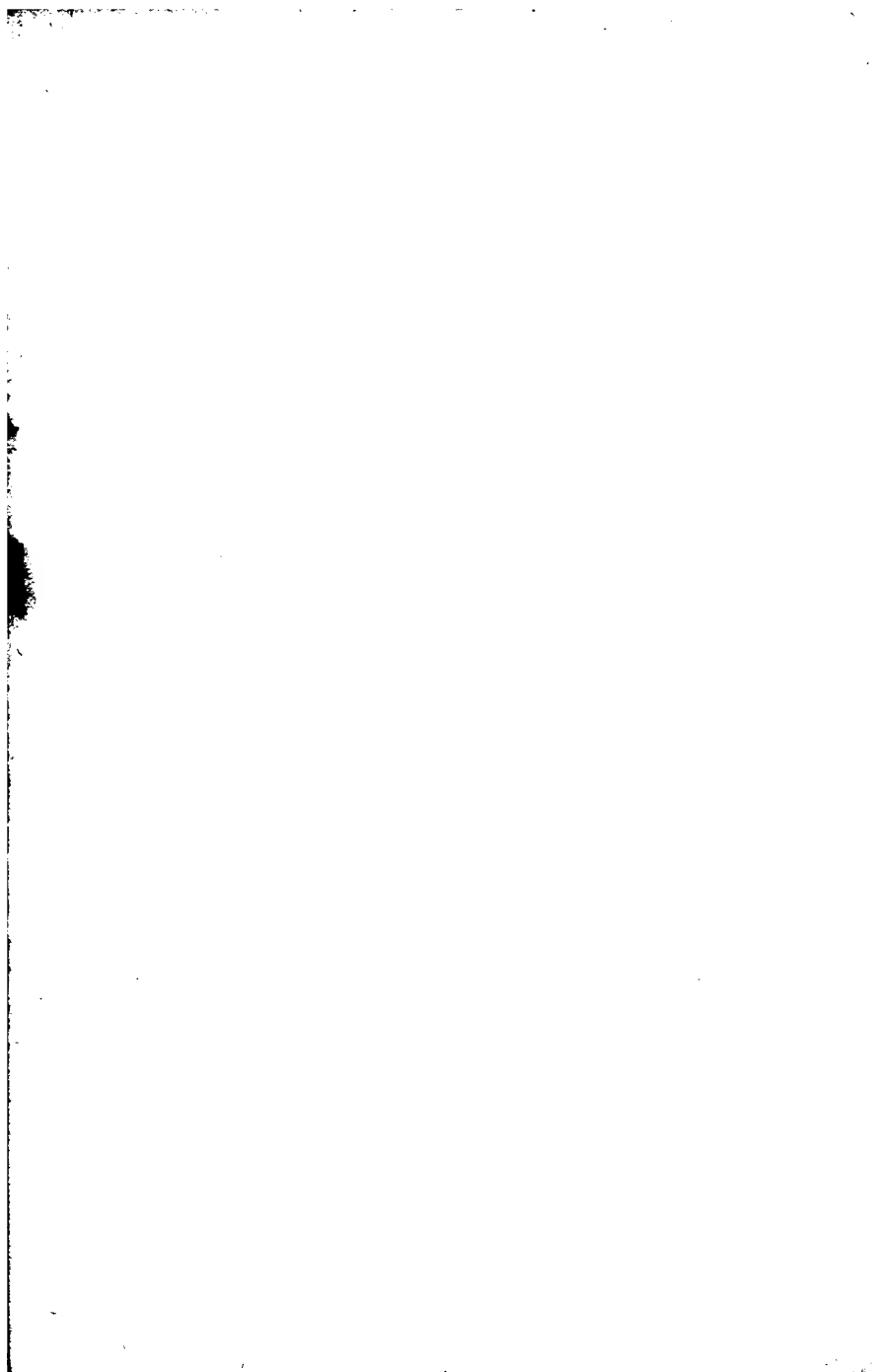
I am indebted to my friend, Mr. H. H. de Vos, of New York, the *ex-Vice-Consul* of the Netherlands, for his valuable assistance. I express my renewed thanks to my friends in the East and West for their continued devotion to the good cause; and finally, I sincerely hope—it being my earnest desire to serve the Boers' cause—that the book in its new form may find its way into many homes, not for my own sake, but for that of the Boers.

C. W. VAN DER HOOGT.

BALTIMORE, MD., March, 1900.

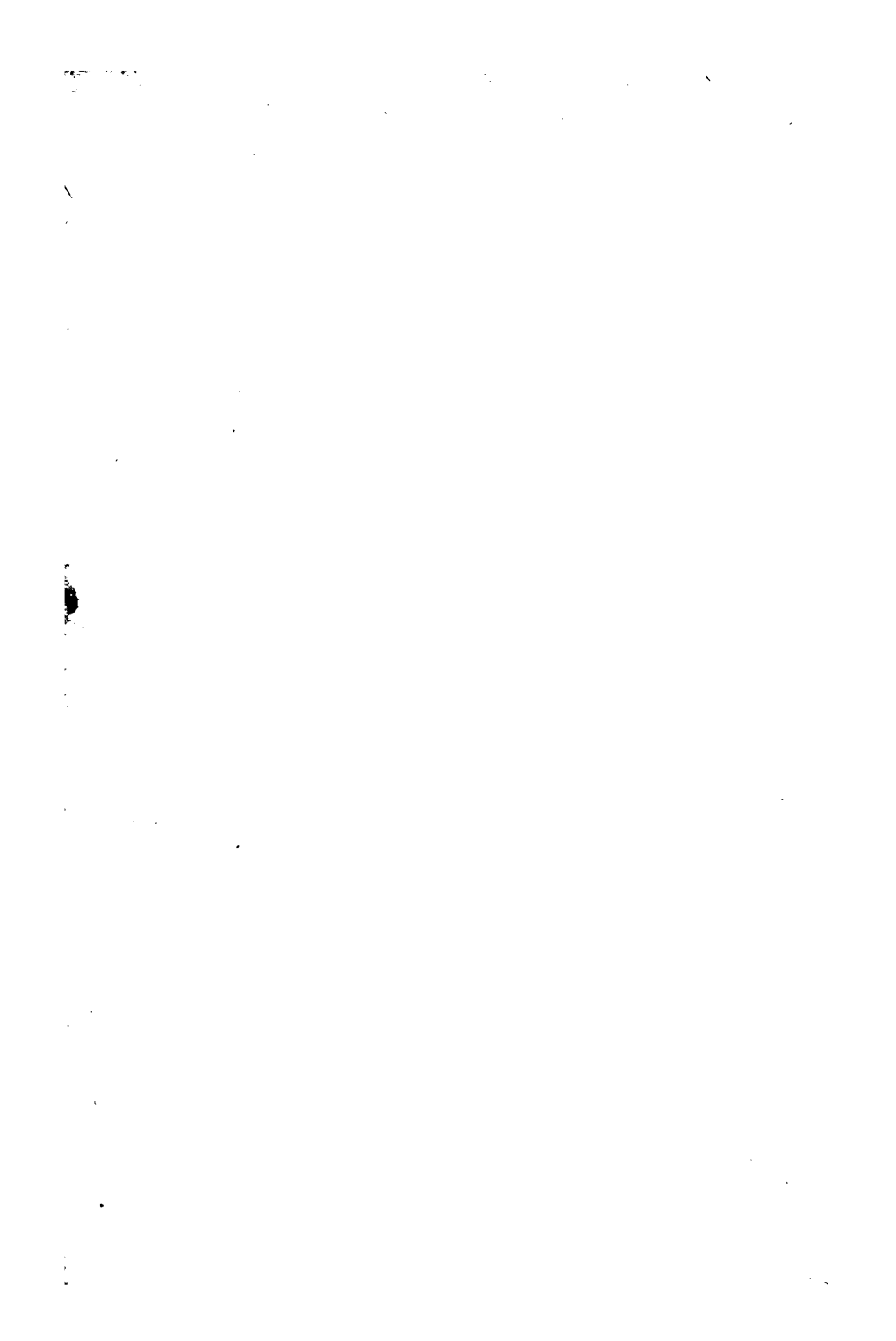
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The Story of the Boers.

THE POLICY OF MEDIATION.

It must at the outset be admitted that the prospects of ending this heartrending tragedy in South Africa by the honorable and satisfactory method of arbitration or mediation do not appear very promising when one remembers the determined efforts of Great Britain during the spring and summer of 1899 to exclude all possibility of a pacific solution of the South African question.

When arrangements were being made for the representation of foreign powers and states at the Peace Conference in Holland, it was felt that the differences between England and the Transvaal were in danger of becoming acute, and an endeavor was made to invite the South African Republic, as well as the Orange Free State, to send delegates to the conference. This step was strenuously and successfully opposed by Great Britain, because the latter claimed suzerainty over the Republic, a pretension in itself a violation of the convention of London. The Orange Free State at once refused the invitation on account of the slight upon its sister Republic. It naturally regarded the proceedings of the conference as farcical if the burning question of the hour in South Africa were to be eliminated.

Undaunted by the failure to secure the representation of the South African Republic, a further effort was made to introduce the Transvaal question in the conference with a view of its solution by pacific methods. This was as bitterly opposed as the first endeavor, and it is stated that Great Britain threatened to withdraw from the conference, and so wreck its international character, if any serious attempt were made in the direction of benevolent intervention or discussion in regard to the Transvaal.

No better fate attended the efforts of the Peace Party in England and in South Africa. The advocates of arbitration in England were browbeaten, insulted, and ridiculed, some even being subjected to personal violence, while in South Africa the Premier, Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Hofmeyer, and two-thirds of the Cape Colonists were treated as traitors and entirely ignored by the Imperial Government. The London *Times* even congratulated Mr. Chamberlain on his narrow escape from a pacific solution.

The negotiations between the two belligerents before the outbreak of hostilities exhibit the strong desire of the Republic to refer all disputes to arbitration, a point only partially and ungraciously conceded by Great Britain after many efforts, and then emasculated by the declaration of the High Commissioner that many of the questions at issue could not in any case be settled by that method.

The Transvaal Government was finally convinced that only two courses were left open—viz., an abject and dishonorable surrender on its part, or the arbitrament of the sword.

Turning from this brief review of the past to glance at present conditions, it would be idle to ignore the

fact that the reverses of the British during the past five months have inflicted so serious a blow upon the pride and prestige of Great Britain as to constitute for the time being a formidable obstacle in the path of those who are advocating conciliatory methods. The proceedings in Parliament and the recent reports from England all tend to reflect the present determination of the British public to retrieve the disasters in South Africa, and practically to carry out the policy of "seeing it through" to the bitter end.

The exultation called forth by the relief of Ladysmith and the surrender of Commandant Cronje and his burghers to an overwhelmingly superior force appears so feverish and so unbridled as to awaken painful misgivings about the ultimate settlement.

But the end of the war is not yet within sight. The defensive campaign is likely to be less dramatic than the events of the last few months, but it will be protracted and wearisome even to the cosmopolitan financiers who are so largely responsible for the whole tragedy. Many things may happen before the British flag waves over the country on the northern bank of the Vaal, and the English people are fortunately endowed with a quality which has compelled the admiration of many foreigners, Frenchmen in particular—and that is "*political common sense*." It is only natural for a great and proud nation to feel the bitterness of serious reverses at the hands of a "few undisciplined farmers." But events involving prompt action may easily happen in other quarters of the world where the interests of Great Britain are far more vulnerable and important than the issues in South Africa, while the shameful ineptitude which brought about this unnecessary war

must daily become clearer and clearer to Englishmen in spite of all the sophistry of adroit debaters.

The courage, gallantry, and heroism of their foes must also in the end appeal to such admirers of pluck as Englishmen are credited to be. The arguments in favor of ending this war are indeed irresistible. It is an outrage upon civilization as well as an insult to both those who brought about the Peace Conference and to those who took part in it. The century closes with a Peace Convention intended to avert the horror of war between nations, and lo and behold! immediately afterward a Great Power, termed the mother of civilization, is locked in a deadly embrace with two little States, the aggregate population of which does not exceed 300,000 souls, for reasons which have been rejected as insufficient and immoral by the conscience of the civilized world. On this subject there is practically only one voice in Europe outside of Great Britain. In the United States this voice is strengthened by the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of citizens. England will gain practically little in South Africa by victory. She is already mistress of the commercial and industrial developments; and the vindictive and pitiless settlement after victory, foreshadowed by Mr. Chamberlain, will add to and not diminish her embarrassment. A garrison of 50,000 soldiers will not prove a permanent guarantee of peace, because, though the Dutch may be defeated, they will never be conquered.

Passing from considerations of morality to questions of interest, it is easy to note that the financial circles and stock exchanges which gleefully looked forward to a "walk-over" and a triumphant resulting

boom are now becoming uneasy and restive. General transactions are restricted, and the holders of South African stocks are slowly grasping the fact that they may be saddled with the cost of this war when Great Britain possesses herself of the Witwaters and gold mines. They may realize in bitterness the truth of the quotation, "My father chastised you with whips, but I shall chastise you with scorpions." Referring to Johannesburg, it must not be forgotten that once the Transvaal is invaded there is great danger of the Gold Reef City sharing the fate of Moscow. Assuredly not in any spirit of vindictiveness, for it is now being carefully policed and protected; but for imperative strategic reasons, because Pretoria is only thirty-five miles distant, and common prudence demands that Johannesburg should not be left as a base of operations against the capital, which is strongly fortified and is sure to be stoutly defended. If Johannesburg and the mining buildings are destroyed, it would mean a loss of from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000.

How can the war then be stopped? Only by the friendly representation and disinterested mediation of a third Power, whose good offices would not be misunderstood by or unacceptable to either belligerent. No Continental Power can under the circumstances be expected to mediate with success. Germany has a footing in Southwest Africa. France is in Madagascar; and Russia is regarded in too prejudiced a light by Great Britain to be of any value as a benevolent neutral. There is only one Power which might at a favorable opportunity successfully intervene, and that is the United States of America. It is so obvious, that it has occurred not only to the

shrewdest statesman in Europe—I refer to His Holiness the Pope—but even to the humblest friends of peace in England and elsewhere. The stipulation of the American delegates to the conference embodied in The Hague convention, now formally ratified by the Senate, the Monroe Doctrine, and the cardinal principle as to the avoidance of “entangling alliances,” have all been urged as reasons which preclude the possibility of mediation or friendly intervention. Taking the last first, it is obvious that there is no question here of “entangling alliances,” for neutrality is the very essence of successful intervention. With regard to the Monroe Doctrine, as a stranger, I must confess to a sense of bewilderment as to its application. I read in one newspaper that the Philippine policy is a violation of that doctrine. In another I find it stated that the new Nicaraguan treaty drives a hole through the Monroe Doctrine as effectively as a canal would pierce the isthmus. I plead that my ignorance on this point is excusable, and I trust I shall be pardoned if in my enthusiasm for my cause I reject the argument as unworthy, and dismiss the Monroe Doctrine as an effective obstacle to the performance of a benevolent action.

Nor ought any academic objections, as the stipulations made by the American delegates to the Peace Convention, stand in the way of carrying out the laudable ends which the conference aimed at accomplishing. The United States is not *debarred* from offering mediation if there is a genuine desire to do so.

The praiseworthy theories advocated last year at The Hague have unfortunately been sterilized by the savage instincts underlying civilization, but that fact ought not to arrest the hands of those who sincerely

welcomed and took part in that great peace movement from putting its principles into practice. It is necessary to take higher ground and appeal to the altruistic interest of humanity in furthering the fundamental principles of Right and Liberty against Might and Tyranny.

But it may be urged that the United States cannot force intervention upon either belligerent, or make urgent diplomatic representations to Great Britain as to the necessity of stopping this war. The first alternative is ridiculous and can be dismissed at once, and the second is nearly as absurd, because urgent representations would be *undiplomatic* and would produce friction, thus proving fatal to the success of the idea. But there is a third and better method, which it is unnecessary to indicate beyond stating that it would have to be followed in the true spirit of diplomacy, so that when the favorable opportunity occurs the effort may be fruitfully made and crowned with success; as it undoubtedly would, for American friendship is just now a political necessity in England. Friendly intervention, if properly brought about, would not be misunderstood either by the government or the people of Great Britain, and would inevitably tend to strengthen good feeling between the two countries. An understanding between the English-speaking people of the world has been strongly advocated as a beneficent factor in the spread of civilization. It would be a terrible calamity to the world and a gross scandal if such an understanding tended, either by active co-operation or by a sterile attitude of correct and passive neutrality, to further the cause of tyranny and oppression, or to crush the very principles of Liberty

and Independence which constitute the foundation of this great Republic. If there are to be "hands across the sea," let them be stretched out for some better purpose than to seize gold fields and other unconsidered trifles on the hypocritical plea that the cause of civilization and humanity is enhanced by such international crimes. Do not let "the white man's burden" be the plunder and spoliation of the weaker man and the suppression of his liberty because his ideas of franchise and naturalization do not square with your own.

One of the first essentials in pursuing a policy of mediation is the education of the English people as to the depth and strength of American sentiment on the subject of this war. It would seem that English newspapers have issued "sealed orders" to their correspondents abroad to furnish only such news as will harmonize with the views and wishes of the editor, varied by occasional abuse of distinguished English politicians in the opposite camp. It is necessary for the English public to know—*not* the irreproachable sentiments of the exclusive "society" man who lays stress upon the English kinship, *not* the views of the Wall Street broker who voices the financial interests, but—the genuine American feeling as to the great fundamentals of Right, Freedom, and Independence which are involved in this struggle.

The British public is being woefully misled about the trend of public opinion in America on the South African war. For instance, one reads with pain and dismay such communications as the following, telegraphed by "our own Washington correspondent" to the London *Times*, and published in that journal on the 17th of January, 1900:

"Opinions and feelings are divided here as elsewhere, but the best opinion and the best feeling is preponderantly Anglo-American. There is no mistaking the opinion in official circles. The expression of it is necessarily guarded because it is official, but it is overwhelmingly for England. 'When I am asked,' said one of the highest in position, 'what my sympathies are, I say they are American.' He added reflectively: 'We do not think American interests will be advanced by Boer dominion in South Africa.'"

With regard to the contention that the United States, though willing to use its friendly offices, cannot intervene unless requested to do so by both belligerents, it may be urged that if the two combatants jointly desire peace they can dispense with the services of a mediator and settle the matter among themselves. To remain passive until such a contingency arises, and then offer to mediate, would be a cheap and tawdry act of benevolence. The essence of mediation is that a friendly neutral should act spontaneously and on its own initiative. The proceedings of Imperial rule in South Africa, going hand in hand with Force, Fraud, and Folly, offer a grim commentary upon the altruism which its doctrinaire advocates are continually predicating about the Pax Britannica. The Pax Britannica indeed! We in South Africa have seen but little of its beneficence. Hardly a decade passes but what bloodshed and plunder mark the track of this much-vaunted civilization. When the Boers were forced by the treachery of the natives to undertake punitive expeditions, after their wives and children had been cruelly massacred, they were vilified and slandered as being

brutal and cruel oppressors of the natives. But when the Matabele were being mowed down by Maxim guns six years ago on the flimsiest of pretexts, in order to enhance the share value of the Chartered Company's undertakings, it was characterized by a right honorable member of the British Cabinet as the "inevitable, though regrettable, result of the contact between barbarism and civilization." As General Joubert once remarked: "I wonder if the English really believe that the natives enjoy the process of being killed when death is inflicted by an Englishman and not by a Boer."

What we want in South Africa is Peace—*permanent* Peace; not a patched-up sham that will pass muster for twenty years. Let there be true, equal rights for the two races, with no battalions or flying squadrons to fortify the illegal pretensions of one section only. To insure permanent peace a benevolent neutral is indispensable. The ideal mediator—which is only a synonym for the United States in regard to this war—is therefore urged to use its great and irresistible power to perform an act which will advance the cause of real and true civilization, *not* the "*fin de siècle*," sham civilization which is only savagery veneered with hypocrisy.

Mediation would, in the first place, give expression to and satisfy the generous sentiments and impulses of the true American people; it would, secondly, receive the indorsement and approval of the civilized world; thirdly, it would extricate Great Britain from a false and embarrassing situation; and lastly, it would provide an effective, though unfettered, guarantee of their dearly bought Liberty and Independence to two brave little States in South Africa.

MONTAGU WHITE.

THE STRUGGLE OF OUR BRETHREN IN SOUTH AFRICA TO MAINTAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

A COMMUNICATION TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"O Lord, we thank Thee for Thy goodness and mercy Thou hast bestowed upon us to make our land and people free and independent."

These simple words were spoken years ago by President Kruger from the pulpit of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zaandam, Holland, as the guest of my brother, Rev. M. J. Van der Hoogt, to a great multitude, who came to see and to greet "the grand old man" from South Africa. This took place on the occasion of his visit to Holland, after the convention made with the British Government at London, in 1884. He preached a sermon and at the same time he gave a little sketch of the struggle in which his people have been engaged for almost a century. His touching story, told in plain and simple language, compelled tears from the eyes of his audience. Those who were present will never lose the impression his appearance made upon them. They will remember Oom Paul with sympathy, admiration, and respect. His people believe his words, because he is a Christian in the noble sense of the word; and because he loves them and is beloved by them.

And yet, many stories about his barbarism have been told! How much injustice he has endured from the hands of his accusers! Those who have once met this noble figure, looked in his kind but resolute eyes, and grasped his firm hand, know why his people admire and love him. He deserves the confidence of his country, which he serves with a devotion perhaps unequalled in this world.

He soon after left Holland and returned to his native land with great satisfaction, having accomplished a good work in making his country FREE AND INDEPENDENT. That hateful word "suzerainty" had disappeared from the articles of the new convention. As the head of a sovereign power, though humble and small in compass and population, he arrived in the capital of the South African Republic as the preserver of his people. The country prospered. He now is serving his fourth term as President of that sturdy Dutch Republic, which has proven and is now proving to the world that it is in existence as a free and independent nation. Years have passed in peace under his administration, but circumstances always made it necessary to keep a watchful eye upon the movements of Great Britain.

Many misleading and designedly false statements have been made relative to the Transvaal's President and the Boers. The English press seem always eager to attack the President personally, even in his private life, and they endeavor to have these stories widely circulated, especially on this side of the ocean. Many exaggerated statements have been published as to his accumulation of wealth; for instance, that the President by his economy and that of Mrs. Kruger has saved his annual salary and lived on his

coffee money—\$1,500 per annum—which he receives in addition. No ignobler attack could have been made.

Those who are acquainted with the way of life in South Africa know that it would be impossible to live on such a small sum, as the humblest state official gets almost that amount of salary. Life in South Africa, especially in Transvaal, is very expensive, and it takes a large sum to live in the way the President does.

The so-called coffee money is simply for audience expense. It is an old fashion of the Dutch, not only in South Africa, but all over the world, where they are located, to offer their guests coffee, and President Kruger has his audiences early in the morning. Everybody is allowed to see him, and no one will leave before receiving a treat of coffee, with cake. I am sure that Mrs. Kruger needs all the money allowed for this audience expense, and probably more, for the army of guests daily visiting the President. At half-past five in the morning the President is to be found under his veranda to receive every burgher without any ceremony. Oom Paul and Tante Kruger are very hospitable and generous to the poor, and I know that they do much good without making it public. Both would be ready to give up at any time all they have to save their beloved country.

The words "oom" and "tante" mean uncle and aunt, and from olden times the Dutch have given these names to popular and beloved persons. The people are devoted to them, and the President and Mrs. Kruger regard it as an honor to be called by these pet names.

An African Boer could never become rich in

money, but only in land and cattle. Money was always scarce in the Transvaal, and especially before gold was discovered. They have not profited by it. There has been from the English side much talk of filling the pockets of the Boers and accumulation of wealth. This is unjust. The Boers in general are to-day no better off than they were before the gold discovery. They love their land and their cattle, and they are not anxious to become gold hunters or rich mine owners.

The continual assaults upon Mr. Kruger and the comments upon his private life show a sad lack of good arguments, and it may be asked with what right the English could resent like attacks upon the Queen, when they resort to the same contemptible methods in regard to the official head of a friendly state?

But this mode of vilification and defamation is peculiar to the English people and their press. It has been aptly said that "those whom England would destroy with her bullets she first attempts to blacken with her printers' ink." When we call to mind how the English press vented upon the immortal Lincoln its vilest spleen and bitterest scoffs and jests during the whole four years of his efforts to save the Union, in order that "free government might not perish from the earth," Oom Paul may well feel proud of the British contumely and hate vented upon himself.

"The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely," scathes no honest man whose cause is just. Here is an answer to English vilification, which every English writer would do well to read and ponder. It carries its own lesson. It was published anonymously in London *Punch* on May 6, 1865.

TO MAINTAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE. 15

Accompanying it was an engraving of Britannia mourning at Lincoln's bier and placing a wreath thereon. Columbia was represented as weeping at the head of the President, and at the foot of the bier was a slave with broken shackles. Underneath was the inscription, "Britannia Sympathizes with Columbia."

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
You, who with mocking pencil went to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please.

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the road were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.

Beside this corpse, that bears the winding sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for you?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men!

The Washington *Mirror*, from which I clip this humiliating recantation, says that "not until within a year or so ago did it become generally known that the author was the dramatist, Tom Taylor, author of the comedy, 'Our American Cousin,' a performance of which President Lincoln was attending at the time when he was assassinated on April 14, 1865."

"The object of the publication of this book is to enlighten the American people and to demonstrate that it is not the Boers but England that is in the wrong. Our people have been wrongly informed on the South African question, because they have heard so many one-sided statements which came from English sources.

"We owe it to the citizens of this great Republic to inform them about the plain facts, based upon official documents."—*Transvaal Green Book*.

To those who have closely followed the history of the South African question it will be plain that one of the main causes of the present war was the discovery of gold in large quantities in different parts of the South African Republic in 1886, especially in the district of Witwatersrand. What to another country might have been a blessing has been in many respects a curse for the South African Republic. The discovery of these immensely rich gold fields caused a total revolution in the economical and political situation of the Republic. From a state of comparative poverty the South African Republic developed in the course of a few years into a rich and prosperous country. But this increase of wealth was not to the special benefit of the farming population, but of adventurers who swarmed into their domain from all lands to hunt for gold. The government made mining laws more liberal than those of any other country, and they were made in such a way as to prevent capitalists from obtaining monopolies. The object was to suit the mixed population, but the complaints of the English adventurers never ceased.

The sudden change of conditions would certainly

have puzzled any government, and no fair minded man could expect that the Boer government would be able to cope with all its requirements.

In her brilliant essay, "The South African Question," the distinguished authoress, Olive Schreiner, sister of the Premier of Cape Colony, who is favorably known among the Afrikanders and admired by the English population, says:

"We put it, not to the man in the street, who, for lack of time or interest, may have given no thought to such matters, but to all statesmen, of whatever nationality, who have gone deeply into the problems of social structure and the practical science of government, and to all thinkers who have devoted time and study to the elucidation of social problems and the structure of societies and nations, whether the problem placed suddenly for solution before this little state does not exceed in complexity and difficulty that which it has almost ever been a necessity that the people of any country in the past or present should deal with? When we remember how gravely is discussed the arrival of a few hundred thousand Chinamen in America, who are soon lost in the vast bulk of the population, as a handful of chaff is lost in a bag of corn; when we recall the fact that the appearance in England of a few thousand laboring Polish and Russian Jews amidst a vast population, into which they will be absorbed in less than two generations, forming good and leal English subjects, has been solemnly adverted upon as a great national calamity, and measures have been weightily discussed for forcibly excluding them, it will assuredly be clear, to all impartial and truth loving minds, that the problem which the Transvaal Republic has

suddenly had to deal with is one of transcendent complexity and difficulty.

"We put it to all generous and just spirits, whether of statesmen or thinkers, whether the little Republic does not deserve our sympathy, the sympathy which wise minds give to all who have to deal with new and complex problems, where the past experience of humanity has not marked out a path—and whether, if we touch the subject at all, it is not necessary that it should be in that large, impartial, truth-seeking spirit, in which humanity demands we should approach all great social difficulties and questions?

"We put it further to such intelligent minds as have impartially watched the action and endeavors of the little Republic in dealing with its great problems, whether, when all the many sides and complex conditions are considered, it has not manfully and wonderfully endeavored to solve them?

"It is sometimes said that when one stands looking down from the edge of this hill at the great mining camp of Johannesburg stretching beneath, with its heaps of white sand and débris mountains high, its mining chimneys belching forth smoke, with its seventy thousand Kaffirs, and its eighty thousand men and women, white or colored, of all nationalities, gathered here in the space of a few years, on the spot where fifteen years ago the Boer's son guided his sheep to the water and the Boer's wife sat alone at evening at the house door to watch the sunset, we are looking upon one of the most wonderful spectacles on earth. And it is wonderful; but, as we look at it, the thought always arises within us of something more wonderful yet—the

marvellous manner in which a little nation of simple folk, living in peace in the land they loved, far from the rush of cities and the concourse of men, have risen to the difficulties of their condition; how they, without instruction in statecraft, or traditionary rules of policy, have risen to face their great difficulties, and have sincerely endeavored to meet them in a large spirit, and have largely succeeded. Nothing but that curious and wonderful instinct for statecraft and the organization and arrangement of new social conditions which seem inherent as a gift of the blood to all those people who took their rise in the little deltas on the northeast of the continent of Europe, where the English and Dutch peoples alike took their rise, could have made it possible. We do not say that the Transvaal Republic has among its guides and rulers a Solon or a Lycurgus; but it has to-day among the men guiding its destiny men of brave and earnest spirit, who are seeking manfully and profoundly to deal with the great problems before them in a wide spirit of humanity and justice. And we do again repeat, that the strong sympathy of all earnest and thoughtful minds, not only in Africa, but in England, should be with them."

Has the South African Republic received this general sympathy, especially from England, from the *mother of civilization*? The facts speak for themselves and need no comment.

Ever since the discovery of the gold fields the British Colonial Office has aided and abetted those who sought to destroy the little Republic. It was with that object in view that the Chartered Company of South Africa was established by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the man who some sixteen years ago de-

clared that within twenty years he would change the map of South Africa.

The constant desire of the Colonial Office was to see the Republic become a part of the British Empire. The first demonstration to that end took place when in 1890 President Kruger visited Johannesburg. The flag of the Republic was pulled down from the government building by these English aliens, and the President was insulted by them.

The intrigues of Mr. Rhodes and his company reached their climax in 1895 in the infamous Jameson Raid, and it was from that time that the Boer Government came to the conclusion that the great struggle for the existence and independence of the Republic was unavoidable.

Mr. Chamberlain, speaking of the Jameson Raid, said in his speech in the House of Commons on May 8, 1899:

"To go to war with President Kruger to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his state, in which secretaries of state, standing in their places, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action which would be immoral."

And yet Mr. Stead, the well-known apostle of peace, in his *Review of Reviews*, openly accuses Mr. Chamberlain of being an accomplice in that raid. He says that Jameson, Rhodes, and Chamberlain were in constant communication before the raid was accomplished.

We all know how the ringleaders of this raid, after their cowardly surrender at Krugersdorp, were treated by President Kruger.

Instead of following the example set by the British Government by the cruel slaughter at Slach-

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tersnek in 1816, the prisoners were surrendered to the British Government, with the expectation that they would be adequately punished, and that an indemnity would be paid to the Boer Government. We all know how inadequately Jameson was punished, and that the indemnity remains unpaid wholly to the present moment, although Sir Alfred Milner declared at the Bloemfontein conference of May, 1899, that the Government had decided upon principle that the Chartered Company must pay an indemnity, and that a despatch relating to the matter had been forwarded to him by Mr. Chamberlain. It is fair to assume that this despatch is still on its way from Downing Street to Cape Town.

Here again is an illustration of the action of a great power toward a little republic. If that outrage had occurred in this or any other large country, it would have led to a war or an apology, with the payment of an immense indemnity to the injured party; but when it took place in that little country in South Africa the claim was simply ignored.

The Jameson Raid was disastrous in every respect to the plans of Messrs. Rhodes and Chamberlain. It caused the Boer Government to prepare itself with all possible energy for the final struggle, which it well knew could not be averted; and in the Cape Colony it caused a very strong resentment among the Afrikaner element, which culminated in the downfall of the Rhodes administration and in the accession of an Afrikaner Ministry under Mr. Schreiner. The burghers of the Orange Free State also became convinced that the independence of their State was equally endangered, and as a consequence

the two Republics made a treaty for their mutual defence.

After the failure of the Jameson Raid Mr. Chamberlain made up his mind to pursue a different course, and accordingly he made himself the noble and disinterested defender of the much-abused Uitlanders. Their "grievances" were to be redressed by what Mr. Rhodes was pleased to call "constitutional means."

And here it may be asked, Who are these Uitlanders and why did they go to the South African Republic? Did they come there with the motives which animated the emigrants daily landing on our shores? Did they come with the purpose to make South Africa their permanent home and to become true citizens of the South African Republic? The answer is "No!" a thousand times "No!" They came merely in search of gold, and with the sole purpose of becoming rich in the shortest possible time and then to return whence they came. This is true of the great majority of the Uitlanders, and especially true in regard to the Englishmen. In this connection we desire to repeat the question that was asked in the Dutch address to the British people—viz.: "Does such a checkered, greedy population, be its members individually ever so respectable, afford the sound material which a thriving, self-governing community stands so much in need of? Is a moral atmosphere, saturated chiefly with ideas of gold digging, speculation, and stock jobbing, a wholesome 'milieu' for favoring the development of such elementary civic virtues as public spirit, love of equity, and sense of justice?" I leave the answer to every fair minded, unprejudiced man.

These Uitlanders then clamored for the elective franchise. But could the Boer Government expect that such people would exercise that sacred right in the interest of the Republic? As a matter of fact most of these "abused" Uitlanders, especially the English, felt no love but only hatred for the Republic. Still they insisted upon their "right" to the franchise, and at the same time they must be allowed to remain faithful subjects of Her Majesty! If this was not the political status they wanted to assume, why should Sir Alfred Milner have objected to the draft of the Oath of Allegiance proposed by President Kruger at the Bloemfontein conference? And why should he have preferred the Orange Free State form, which was less positive on the point of forswearing allegiance to the Queen?

Still the Boer Government made concessions on this point, going even further than suggested by the High Commissioner at Bloemfontein.

The following letters to the British agent at Pretoria prove the sincerity of the South African Republic Government to settle this difference:

[TRANSLATION.]

"DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT
OFFICE,

"PRETORIA, August 19, 1899.

"SIR: With reference to your request for a joint inquiry, contained in your dispatches of 2 and 3 August, the Government of the South African Republic have the honor to suggest the alternative proposal for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, which this Government trusts may lead to final settlement.

"1. The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the People a five years' retrospective franchise, as proposed by His Excellency the High Commissioner at Bloemfontein on 1 June, 1899.

"2. The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that eight new seats in the First Volksraad and, if necessary, also in the Second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwatersrand, thus with the two sitting members of the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof ten representatives in a Raad of thirty-six, and in future the representation of the Goldfields of this Republic shall not fall below the proportion of one-quarter of the total.

"3. The new burghers shall, equally with the old burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant General.

"4. This Government will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the Franchise Law as Her Majesty's Government, through the British Agent, may wish to convey to it.

"5. In putting forward the above proposals the Government of the South African Republic assumes:

"a. That Her British Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place.

"b. That Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the Suzerainty, the controversy on this subject being allowed tacitly to drop.



F. W. REITZ,
Secretary of State of the South African Republic; ex-President of
the Orange Free State.

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"c. That arbitration (from which foreign element, other than Orange Free State, is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become law.

"6. Immediately on Her British Majesty's Government accepting this proposal for a settlement, the Government will ask the Volksraad to adjourn for the purpose of consulting the people about it, and the whole scheme might become law, say, within a few weeks.

"7. In the mean time the form and scope of the proposed tribunal are also to be discussed and provisionally agreed upon, while the franchise scheme is being referred to the people, so that no time may be lost in putting an end to the present state of affairs.

"The Government trusts that Her Majesty's Government will clearly understand that in the opinion of this Government the existing franchise law of this Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration that induces them to go further, as they do in the above proposals, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two governments settled, and further to put an end to the present strained relations between the two governments, and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war, from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all, and therefore this Government, having regard for all these circumstances, would highly appreciate it, if Her Majesty's Government, seeing the necessity of preventing the present crisis from developing still further and the

urgency of an early termination of the present state of affairs, would expedite the acceptance or refusal of the settlement here offered.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"F. W. REITZ,

"*State Secretary.*

"The Honorable

"W. CONYNTHAM GREENE, C. B.,

"British Agent,

"Pretoria.

[TRANSLATION.]

"DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT
OFFICE.

"PRETORIA, August 21, 1899.

"SIR: In continuation of my dispatch of the 19th instant and with reference to the communication to you of the State Attorney this morning, I wish to forward you the following in explanation thereof, with the request that the same may be telegraphed to His Excellency the High Commissioner as forming part of the proposals of this government embodied in the above-named despatch:

"1. The proposals of this Government regarding the question of franchise and representation contained in that despatch must be regarded as expressly conditional, on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in par. 5 of the despatch—viz.:

"a. In future not to interfere in the internal affairs of the South African Republic.

"b. Not to insist further on its assertion of the existence of the Suzerainty.

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"c. To agree to arbitration.

"2. With reference to par. 6 of the despatch, this Government trusts that it is clear to Her Majesty's Government that this Government has not consulted the Volksraad as to this question, and will only do so when an affirmative reply to its proposals has been received from Her Majesty's Government.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"F. W. REITZ,

"*State Secretary.*

"The Honorable

"W. CONYNGHAM GREENE, C. B.,

"British Agent,

"Pretoria."

These letters were only written after the Boer Government had been confidentially assured by the British agent, Mr. Conyngham Greene, that the proposals formulated therein would be acceptable to this government.

And how were these proposals received? The following answer was sent by the British agent:

"HER MAJESTY'S AGENCY,

"PRETORIA, August 30, 1899.

"SIR: With reference to your notes to me of the 19th and 21st instant I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government have considered the proposals which the Government of the South African Republic have put forward therein as an alternative to those contained in the telegram from the Secretary of State to the High Commissioner of the 31st of July last, the substance of which I had the honor

to communicate to you in my note of the 2d of August.

"Her Majesty's Government assume that the adoption in principle of the franchise proposals made by the High Commissioner at Bloemfontein will not be hampered by any conditions which would impair their effect, and that by the proposed increase of seats for the Gold Fields and by other provisions the Government of the South African Republic intend to grant immediate and substantial representation of the Uitlanders.

"That being so, Her Majesty's Government are unable to appreciate the objections entertained by the Government of the South African Republic to a Joint Commission of Inquiry into the complicated details and technical questions on which the practical effect of the proposals depends. Her Majesty's Government will, however, be ready to agree that the British Agent, assisted by such other persons as the High Commissioner may appoint, shall make the investigation necessary to satisfy them that the result desired will be achieved, and, failing this, to enable them to make those suggestions which the Government of the South African Republic state that they will be prepared to take into consideration. Her Majesty's Government assume that every facility will be given to the British Agent by the Government of the South African Republic, and they would point out that the inquiry will be easier and shorter if the Government of the South African Republic will omit in the proposed new Law the complicated conditions as to previous registration, qualification and behavior which accompanied their previous proposals and which would have entirely

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nullified their beneficial effect. Her Majesty's Government hope that the Government of the South African Republic will wait to receive their suggestions founded on the report of the British Agent's investigation before submitting these new proposals to the Volksraad and the burghers.

"With regard to the conditions of the Government of the South African Republic:

"First, as regards intervention, Her Majesty's Government hope that the fulfilment of the promises made and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future will render unnecessary any further intervention on their behalf, but Her Majesty's Government cannot of course debar themselves from their rights under the conventions, nor divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of any civilized power to protect its subjects in a foreign country from injustice.

"Secondly, with regard to Suzerainty, Her Majesty's Government would refer the Government of the South African Republic to the second paragraph of the despatch of the Secretary of State to the High Commissioner of the 13th of July last, a copy of which I had the honor to forward to you in my note of the 8th instant.

"Thirdly, Her Majesty's Government agree to a discussion of the form and scope of a tribunal of arbitration from which foreigners and foreign influence are excluded.

"Such a discussion, which will be of the highest importance to the future relations of the two countries, should be carried on between the President of the South African Republic and the High Commissioner, and for this it appears to be necessary that a

further Conference, which Her Majesty's Government suggest should be held at Cape Town, should be at once arranged.

"Her Majesty's Government also desire to remind the Government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation of the Uitlanders and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form with the question of arbitration proper subjects for consideration at the proposed conference.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"CONYNGHAM GREENE.

"The Honorable the State Secretary."

The paragraph in the despatch of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Alfred Milner, of July 13, 1899, above referred to, reads as follows:

"Her Majesty's Government concur generally in the views in your despatch and have no intention of continuing to discuss this question with the Government of the Republic, whose contention that the South African Republic is a sovereign international State is not in their opinion warranted either by law or history, and is wholly inadmissible. They therefore confine themselves to a very brief review of historical facts and of the opinions and intentions of their predecessors, on whose advice Her Majesty was pleased to grant—first the Pretoria Convention

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and later the London Convention—as shown in their official statements at the time.”

Was this an acceptance or a rejection of the Boer proposals? Mr. Chamberlain has claimed recently that it was an acceptance. But the South African Republic took it for a refusal, and Mr. Chamberlain had the sad courage not to correct this wrong interpretation of his reply.

It will be noted that the Boer Government had made its proposal for a five years' retrospective franchise, subject to three conditions, viz., Her Majesty's Government:

(a) In future not to interfere in the internal affairs of the South African Republic.

(b) Not to insist further on its assertion of the existence of the suzerainty.

(c) To agree to arbitration.

Now we see that the answer to the first two conditions was no answer at all, and that the half affirmative answer to the third condition was deprived of all practical value by the additional statement that there were other matters of difference between the two Governments “which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration.”

If this answer of Mr. Conyngham Greene was not a rejection of the Boer proposals—and Mr. Chamberlain has claimed it was not—we can only assume that it was clothed in such obscure form that the Government of the Republic should take it as a refusal. As a matter of fact, it was so taken, and, under date of September 2, 1899, the South African Republic withdrew its offer of a five years' franchise, but declared its willingness to continue nego-

tiations on the basis of its prior proposals. The subsequent answer of the British agent, under date of September 12, 1899, says that:

"Her Majesty's Government cannot now consent to go back to the proposals for which those in the note of the Government of the Republic of the 19th of August are intended as a substitute."

And he ends with the following ultimatum:

"If, however, as they most anxiously hope will not be the case, the reply of the Government of the South African Republic is negative or inconclusive, I am to state to you that Her Majesty's Government must reserve to themselves the right to reconsider the situation *de novo* and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement."

And what was the positive and conclusive reply which Her Majesty's Government "most anxiously" hoped to receive? Nothing more or less than that the South African Republic would grant the five years' retrospective franchise with the increased number of Rand representatives in the Volksraad, and waive the three conditions enumerated in the letter of August 19th. And while asking the South African Republic to waive the conditions under which the offer was made, Mr. Chamberlain deemed it advisable to make some conditions himself, both of them humiliating to the Boers, and which he knew could not possibly be accepted. These British conditions were that an inquiry should be made, either joint or unilateral, "that the new scheme of representation will not be encumbered by conditions which will nullify the intention

to give substantial and immediate representation to the Uitlander"; and, furthermore, "Her Majesty's Government assume that, as stated to the British agent" (which was never done either officially or confidentially), "the new members of the Volksraad will be permitted to use their own language." And this demand was made by the same Government that, about seventy-five years before, had denied to the Boers the use of their own language, in violation of the guarantees given at the time of the transfer of the Cape Colony to the British in 1806.

The most important condition insisted upon by the South African Republic, in connection with its offer of a five years' franchise, was that the British Government should not insist further on its assertion of SUZERAINTY. The Boers were compelled to make this a "*conditio sine qua non*," in view of Mr. Chamberlain's assertion of the existence of British suzerainty. In regard to the alleged suzerainty, it would be sufficient to call our readers' attention to the London Convention of 1884, the full text of which, and also of the Pretoria and Sand River conventions, are given in this book, to show that Mr. Chamberlain's claim was totally unjustifiable, and that the South African Republic was then and is still a sovereign and independent state. This is the status of the Republic, notwithstanding Article 4 of that Convention provided that the South African Republic would conclude no treaty with any state or nation, other than Orange Free State, without Her Majesty's approval. At most, this was no more than a treaty stipulation between two sovereign powers. The present war has ended this treaty.

Mr. Chamberlain was evidently satisfied that he

could not base his assertion of the existence of suzerainty on that article of the London convention, and he therefore made the discovery that only the articles of the Pretoria Convention of 1881, but *not its preamble*, were superseded by the 1884 Convention.

This novel claim was for the first time set up in Mr. Chamberlain's despatch of October 16, 1897, to the High Commissioner, in answer to the proposal of the South African Republic that all points in dispute between the two Governments relating to the convention should be referred to arbitration, the arbitrator to be nominated by the President of the Swiss Republic.

In reply to this proposal, Mr. Chamberlain said:

"Finally, the Government of the South African Republic propose that all points in dispute between Her Majesty's Government and themselves relating to the Convention should be referred to arbitration, the arbitrator to be nominated by the President of the Swiss Republic.

"In making this proposal the Government of the South African Republic appears to have overlooked the distinction between the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 and an ordinary treaty between two independent powers, questions arising upon which may properly be the subject of arbitration.

"By the Pretoria Convention of 1881 Her Majesty as Sovereign of the Transvaal Territory accorded to the inhabitants of that territory complete self-government subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, upon certain terms and conditions and subject to certain reservations and limitations set forth in 33 Articles, and by the Lon-

don Convention of 1884 Her Majesty, *while maintaining the preamble of the earlier instrument*, directed and declared that certain other articles embodied therein should be substituted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 1881. The articles of the Convention of 1881 were accepted by the Volksraad of the Transvaal State and those of the Convention of 1884 by the Volksraad of the South African Republic.

"Under these conventions, therefore, Her Majesty holds towards the South African Republic the relation of a suzerain who has accorded to the people of that Republic self-government upon certain conditions, and it would be incompatible with that position to submit to arbitration the construction of the conditions on which she accorded self-government to the Republic."

Mr. Chamberlain has since insistently adhered to his contention, and in his subsequent despatches he has always referred to the *conventions* between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic, evidently meaning the London Convention of 1884 and the Pretoria Convention of 1881.

Now it is a fact beyond question that the principle of suzerainty as laid down in the 1881 Convention was from the very start the main cause of the objection on the Boer side. This objection was clearly expressed by the Transvaal deputation in its letter of November 14, 1883, to Lord Derby, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it was for this very reason that it was then asked that the Sand River Convention of 1852 be restored in force. In his reply of November 20, 1883, Lord Derby

stated "that it is not possible to entertain the suggestion that the Sand River Convention has now any vitality, as that, if it could be revised, it would meet the requirements of the present case." "That Convention," Lord Derby further writes, "like the Convention of Pretoria, was not a treaty *between two contracting Powers*, but was a declaration by the Queen, and accepted by certain persons at that time her subjects, of the conditions under which, and the extent to which, Her Majesty could permit them to manage their own affairs without interference."

Could the difference between the Convention of 1881 and the new Convention under discussion be more distinctly expressed? And still, notwithstanding this clear statement, Mr. Chamberlain now holds that the *preamble* of the 1881 Convention, which gives it the character of the one-sided "declaration by the Queen," is still in existence.

Again, in his letter of February 15, 1884, transmitting the draft of the new Convention, Lord Derby says:

"By the omission of those Articles of the Convention of Pretoria which assigned to Her Majesty and to the British resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy subject only to the requirement embodied in the fourth article of the new draft, that any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

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We print below the first page of the draft of the new Convention, as transmitted with Lord Derby's letter, and call special attention to the head note.

A CONVENTION CONCLUDED BETWEEN HER MAJESTY
THE QUEEN, &C., &C., AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN
REPUBLIC.

NOTE.—*The words and paragraphs bracketed or printed in italics are proposed to be inserted, those within a black link are proposed to be omitted.*

Her Majesty's Commissioners for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April, 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee, on behalf of Her Majesty, that from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, Her Heir and Successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal Territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations:

{ Whereas, the Government of the Transvaal State, through its Delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the said State; Stephanus Johannes Du Toit, Superintendent of Education; Nicholas Jacobus

Smit, a member of the Volksraad, have represented to the Queen that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August, 1881, and ratified by the Volksraad of the said State on the 25th October, 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient, and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved; and that the southwestern boundaries fixed by the said Convention should be amended, with a view to promote the peace and good order of the said State, and of the countries adjacent thereto; and whereas Her Majesty the Queen, &c., &c., has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration: Now, therefore, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared, that the following articles of a new Convention, signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the Right Honorable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and on behalf of the Transvaal State (which shall herein-after be called the South African Republic) by the above-named Delegates, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Stephanus Johannes Du Toit, Nicholas Jacobus Smit, shall, when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic, be substituted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 3rd August, 1881; which latter, pending such ratification, shall continue in full force and effect.

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We see that immediately below the head note followed the *preamble* to the 1881 Convention, and that this preamble was *within a black line*, and consequently to be *omitted*. And still Mr. Chamberlain claims that this preamble is now in force, and on this contention he has gone to war with the South African Republic!

It is also to be noted that by the 1884 Convention the name of Transvaal State was changed into the South African Republic, in accordance with the wishes of the deputation. The only reason for this change was that the deputation desired to emphasize the difference between the status of their country under the 1881 and the 1884 Conventions.

In submitting the 1884 treaty to the Volksraad for ratification, the deputation said in its report of July 28, 1884:

"It (the treaty) is entirely bilateral, and your deputation was not placed in the humiliating situation of receiving from a Suzerain Government a one-sided document containing rules and provisions, but was recognized as a free contracting party.

"It (the treaty) therefore ends the British Suzerainty and restores, with the official recognition of her name, complete self-government to the South African Republic, with one single limitation regarding the conclusion of treaties with foreign Powers (Art. 4)."

The British Government never entered any protest against this interpretation of the 1884 Convention, as it would have been in duty bound to do, if in its opinion this Boer interpretation had been wrong.

As well might the United States claim suzerainty over the South American republics, because under the Monroe doctrine the former deny the right of European Powers to make conventions with them for territorial acquisitions on our continent.

From the foregoing it is plain that the South African Republic is a sovereign and independent state, and Great Britain has more than once admitted this status of the Republic prior to Mr. Chamberlain's discovery of 1897, and notably so in the convention concluded with the South African Republic in 1894, whereby Swaziland was placed under the protectorate of the Republic. Who ever heard of a vassal state being made the protector of foreign territory? It was in accordance with the treaty of 1884, and shortly after its ratification, that Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland was recognized by Great Britain as minister plenipotentiary of the South African Republic, and held that position until his death in 1894. Moreover, the South African Republic appointed consuls throughout Europe, and the consul-general in London and consul in Durban were each granted exequatur by the British Government, and the latter has likewise asked exequatur for the British consuls in the Republic.

Another proof of its recognized sovereignty is that the Republic is admitted into the Postal Union, and is also a member of the Convention of Geneva. Furthermore, our own Government as well also as other Powers has been officially notified that there exists a state of war between Great Britain and the two South African Republics. Now, in view of the generally admitted doctrine that there cannot be a state of war between a suzerain and its vassal, Great

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Britain in the face of this notice necessarily withdraws its claims of vassalage of the South African Republic, and it will require all of Mr. Chamberlain's eloquence to explain away the inconsistency between this notice of public war and his claim of suzerainty. Furthermore, our own Government and other Powers have also appointed consuls to and received exequaturs from the Government of the South African Republic.

Still stronger evidence of independent sovereignty is the fact that the United States consul at Pretoria is now acting in a protectorate capacity for British subjects; and, be it remembered, that this is at the special request of and as a matter of international courtesy to the British Government on the part of the United States, and by order of our courteous Secretary of State to that consul. Furthermore, it is well known that by international law, even with all these dealings between our Government and that of Great Britain, the American consul at Pretoria could not act in such capacity without the consent of the Government of the South African Republic, which could at any time withdraw his exquatur.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it is plain that there cannot be any question of suzerainty, and that the South African Republic was and is a sovereign independent state.

The American monthly *Review of Reviews*, one of the foremost magazines in this country, published in its "Leading Articles of the Month" (November number) under the title, "Mr. Chamberlain's Diplomacy," the following:

" 'Diplomaticus' writes, in the *Fortnightly Re-*

view for October, on 'Mr. Chamberlain's Mistakes.' This writer especially censures Mr. Chamberlain for putting forward a claim to the suzerainty of 1881:

"'Never,' says 'Diplomaticus,' 'was a good cause compromised in a more unhappy and gratuitous fashion. To have raised this question at any time would have been unwise and superfluous, but to do it at a time when the first object of statesmanship was avowedly to solve the franchise question was a fatal and unpardonable blunder. The claim was not only of very doubtful value, but it is absolutely futile and unprofitable. There was absolutely no necessity for raising it. Even if the whole of Mr. Chamberlain's case were granted, the suzerainty for which he contends is an empty thing. It would not give us a single right or advantage we do not already possess or which was not amply secured to us. The word alone, as used in the 1881 preamble, has no effective meaning.

"' A GRAVE ERROR.

"' But the worst of Mr. Chamberlain's blunder in putting forward this doubtful and unnecessary contention is that he thereby prejudiced the chances of an amicable settlement of the franchise question, inasmuch as he embittered the Boers and gave them a grievance with which to appeal not only to Dutch sympathy, but to the sympathy of not a few leaders of public opinion in Europe. The extraordinary thing is that it was not raised in the heat of any controversy, but in the full tide of Sir Milner's conciliatory mission and before the High Commissioner had come to the conclusion that diplomacy was useless

to liberate the Uitlanders and the moment for intervention had arrived. Mr. Chamberlain did not dream of it at the time of the raid, for when, in the negotiations which followed that deplorable act of folly, President Kruger referred to newspaper theories on the subject and declared roundly that the suzerainty "no longer exists" he abstained from controverting him and correctly took his stand by Article IV. It was in October, 1897, that, in answer to proposals for a scheme of arbitration to settle all disputes between Pretoria and Downing Street, Mr. Chamberlain, for the first time for thirteen years, asserted the existence of the suzerainty in virtue of the 1881 preamble. The Transvaal repudiated the claim, and Sir Alfred Milner himself, following in the traditions of Sir Hercules Robinson and Lord Derby, was "unable to see anything material in this controversy." Nevertheless the Colonial Secretary persisted in it, with the result that, on May 9th of the present year, he received a note from Mr. Reitz, the ill-temper of which is apparent in every line, and especially in the extravagance and defiance of the claim that the South African Republic is a "sovereign international State."

"It is not difficult to understand this ill-temper. The Boers honestly believed that in 1884 their diplomacy had obtained the revocation of the 1881 preamble. Now, on the morrow of the raid and on the eve of a fresh Uitlander campaign, when they had hoped to bargain for a further extension of their independence, they found themselves confronted by what they regarded as an attempt to reduce them to the status of the 1881 Convention. It was under this aggrieved impression that they went into the Bloem-

fontein conference. Can we wonder that the meeting failed? How Mr. Chamberlain came to play this trump card into Mr. Kruger's hands passes my comprehension. The effect of the blunder is, however, clear, for if we have war it will not be on the question of a seven or five years' franchise, but, so far as Dutch public feeling is concerned, mainly on the question of the suzerainty.' "

Besides the clamor for franchise, the Uitlanders had a great many other "grievances," some of them of so puerile a character that it can be hardly understood how they could have been seriously brought forward. "Those poor, oppressed Uitlanders," who claimed that they came to the Republic on the "invitation" of the Government, thereby implying that they would not have come in the absence of such invitation! As if it ever needed an invitation to the class of people who principally compose the population of mining camps, to come to any gold-producing country. We know better; we know what hardships adventurous mining people will endure in their hunt for the yellow metal; and we know that not only is no invitation required, but they will flock to such a country, notwithstanding any and all cautions, warnings, and dangers.

The "cruel Boers" did not thank them for coming. They did not give at once these adventurers the franchise! They did not offer these Uitlanders the so-much-coveted citizenship of their Republic—in other words, did not extend to these strangers the privilege to rule the country of the Boers in accordance with the wishes of Cecil Rhodes and others of his ilk! Just imagine how anxious men like Alfred

Beit, Robinson, John Hays Hammond, and the like must have been to become burghers and to be commanded into the Boer army, to serve the South African Republic without pay, in case of war!

The fact is that only an insignificant, small percentage of these Uitlanders came to the Republic with any purpose of staying there. The English Uitlanders wanted the franchise, not for the sake of the country, which they would not adopt as their own, but only for their own nefarious purpose. Yet the Boer Government was willing, for the sake of peace, to run the risk and to give them the franchise. But, as above shown, that offer, made as it was upon the suggestion of the British Government itself, was rejected by this Government and the rejection was accompanied by demands for further concessions!

As an illustration of the "liberality" shown by British colonial authorities, we might recall that at the very same moment these oppressed Uitlanders were complaining, 3,000 Dutch residents of British Guiana, born on its soil and about equal in number to the British subjects in that colony, were and still are not entitled to hold an office under either the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of the Colonial Government.

Then we have the cry of "taxation without representation." What is the rate of taxation of American mines in that part of Alaska claimed by England as British territory, and what representation have they?

That the Uitlander, who bought mineral property and became rich, has to pay taxes, is no more than reasonable, and that the English pay a large share

no one denies; but that does not indicate that they have any right to dictate to the lawmakers to make laws to suit them. The Boer Government had always been courteous and ready to listen to the reasonable demands of this floating population, and it is admitted that the laws and taxation are as liberal as those of any other country. Does not the British Government itself, and its Colonial Government also, deny to denizens, of however long residence, the election franchise, and compel them to pay taxes at whatever rates the Parliament and Colonial legislatures are pleased to exact?

Moreover, the taxes levied on the Uitlanders are exactly the same as those levied on the burghers, and if the former have paid more it only shows that they soon became possessed of more assessable property. The taxes levied on the gold mines by the Republic were only 2.5 per cent. on the production; in the British Klondike it is 10 per cent.; and in Rhodesia, under the benevolent rule of that great philanthropist, Cecil Rhodes, it is even 50 per cent. It may be remarked here that no large quantities of gold are found in Rhodesia, and that this is one of the very evident reasons why Mr. Rhodes and his company are so anxious to take in the South African Republic under their own special suzerainty.

Another crying injustice to the Uitlander was the dynamite monopoly. Certainly we are no friends of monopolies, but we desire to submit that President Kruger had very good reasons for preferring that dynamite be made in his own country. Furthermore, the price as it was reduced was hardly higher than the cost of the imported article with the cost of transportation and duty added thereto,

and it certainly was not higher than the prices charged at Kimberley and in Rhodesia.

Another "grievance" of the Uitlander was the language of the South African Republic.

The British demanded that the English language should be made the official language on equal footing with the Dutch. Because in the Johannesburg district there lived more English-speaking people than in other parts of the Republic, they wished to make their own language the official one. Does not such a demand seem ridiculous? As a rule, the officials of the Government understand both English and Dutch, and the Uitlanders never found any difficulty in carrying on their business in their own language.

What an absurd claim of grievance this is, and is it not the universal custom that instruction in schools, supported by the Government, should be given in the language of the country? Does, for instance, the English Government support any schools in Great Britain where instruction is given in Dutch or other foreign language? But even in this respect the Boer Government has shown its extreme liberality by paying subsidies for English schools in the gold fields.

The Uitlanders further complained that their right of free speech and of holding meetings was not respected. This is wholly untrue. The authorities very wisely prohibited the holding of meetings when rebellion against the Government was openly preached, and for the same reason they did not allow the class of people who resorted to such meetings to carry weapons.

There are still a great many other grievances,

most of them too puerile to deserve mention, but we wish with a single word to refer to one of the complaints, brought forward by a man of standing, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Secretary of the Uitlander Committee. Mr. Fitzpatrick felt that his rights as a free-born British subject were grievously infringed by a decree issued by the Boer Government, forbidding the employment of barmaids in Johannesburg. We must admit that this barbarous decree fully shows that the Boers have not the slightest appreciation of the blessings of British civilization of that kind.

One of the "sorely oppressed" Uitlanders is now travelling through this country denouncing the Boers, and even using churches for the purpose of bringing his false statements before the public. This is his mode of acknowledging the magnanimity shown him by President Kruger. I refer to Mr. John Hays Hammond, who has recently demonstrated in figures how much more profit the mine owners could make if the Republic were to be swallowed up by the British Empire. One of his arguments is that the Boer Government does not furnish sufficient native laborers for the gold mines and that the wages are too high. Under British rule this would soon be changed for the benefit of the Uitlander capitalist. There would be more laborers and the wages of the natives would be reduced. This is indeed an argument that should strongly appeal to the American public! It is no more ridiculous than the other British arguments, all based on greed.

We may ask here in what manner Mr. Hammond proposes to supply the increased number of natives. By compulsory laws? And this under the highly



JOHANNESBURG, RISSICK STREET

civilized British Government, which is always so anxious to protect the natives against the Boers, who, according to English slanderers, are nothing but "concealed slave-holders"!

Mr. Hammond is a perambulating monument of Boer clemency. He was arrested after the Jameson Raid and sentenced to death as one of the instigators of this infamous conspiracy, which was condemned by the whole civilized world. President Kruger magnanimously changed his sentence to a fine. But the fact remains that this man, a citizen of the United States, assisted the subjects of a European monarchy in their attempt to trample down the flag of a republic. My fellow-citizens, can you put any value upon the statements of such a man?

All these "grievances" and a great many others equally frivolous were taken up by Mr. Chamberlain and made the subject of official remonstrations lodged with the Boer Government. And yet all the time Mr. Chamberlain disclaimed any intention to interfere with the internal affairs of the Republic! Of course, his only purpose was to exasperate the Boers, to drive them into a war in which he fondly hoped to blot out the two Republics from the map of Africa. The Boers became soon firmly convinced that the final struggle was coming, and that no amount of concessions would avail. They knew that triumvirate Rhodes, Milner, and Chamberlain were bound to annex the Transvaal, and President Kruger and his people prepared to defend their land, their homes, and firesides.

Under the auspices of the South African League, a petition signed by "21,000" alleged English subjects was sent to the Queen, asking Her Majesty's

interference. This was, of course, a new pretext for Mr. Chamberlain to become more persistent in his interference and to change his requests for concessions into *demands*.

Let me here pause a moment to show how the 21,000 signatures to this "petition" were obtained.

The following sworn affidavit *from an American citizen*, selected from the many similar documents published in the South African Republic Green Book, and submitted to the High Commissioner at the Bloemfontein Conference, will serve as an illustration:

Appearing before me, Justice of the Peace in Johannesburg, South African Republic, this day, the 24th of April, 1899, Thomas Bernard Regan swears and declares:

"I live at 33 Critic Building, Johannesburg, and I am an American citizen. Some time ago, before it became known that there was to be sent a petition to Her Majesty the Queen of England, claiming that it contained 21,000 signatures, a certain Alexander A. Banier approached me with a few sheets of blank paper, with some numbers of pages on the top, asking me to sign a petition. I asked him to show me the petition, and he answered that he had not the petition with him, but that the contents were to ask the British intervention in the affairs of the Transvaal. I refused to sign. He remained in my presence and approached a Mr. Schimmelbusch, asking *him* the same question. I overheard the conversation, and among other things, Schimmelbusch said: 'How do I know that I am not signing my death warrant?' I was curious and gave all my attention

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to the incident. I saw that Banier went to a table, sat down and commenced to write. Afterwards he rose from the table and showed me the same sheets of paper. I discovered that they were now filled with from ten to fifteen names. When he showed this to me, he said: 'How's that?' I looked at him and his papers with astonishment. I swear positive that it had been utterly impossible to get these signatures and I am convinced that these names were forgeries."

Signed: T. B. REGAN.

Sworn before me,

Signed: SMUTS DE VILLIERS,
Justice of the Peace.

A counter petition, genuinely signed by 23,000 Uitlanders, who declared their loyalty to the South African Republic Government, was simply ignored by Mr. Chamberlain and contemptuously brushed aside.

I think that it is now clear to every reader of this book that Mr. Chamberlain and his followers had made up their mind, long before the Boers took up the arms to defend their rights, that the South African Republic, and incidently the Orange Free State, had to be conquered, and that no concessions on the part of the Boers would have prevented the consummation of that dastardly scheme. In the mean time, and previous to the negotiations already mentioned, war preparations were going on and a cry for war was heard in the English Parliament. To gain time until the British Government had a sufficient army landed so as to dictate to the Boers its own terms, was the purpose of the British negotiations. The

Government at Pretoria waited for Mr. Chamberlain's "new proposals" until October 9th, after which they demanded a withdrawal of the British troops from the borders of both Republics and that the despatch of troops to South Africa, *pending the negotiations*, should stop. Again the Government of the South African Republic pleaded for arbitration, and it was ready to name the Government of the United States or the Republic of Switzerland as the arbitrator; but the plea was ignored. Is not this fact of itself sufficient to convince every impartial person of the justice of the cause of the Boers, that they were anxious to arbitrate and let others decide upon the question, who is in the wrong? Would not that have been the honest way out of the difficulties?

My fellow-citizens, judge for yourselves, what could the two Republics do under these circumstances? There was nothing else to be done than to call the burghers to arms for the defence of their liberty, their independence, and their homes from ruthless foreign invasion. The war was forced upon them by a powerful and relentless foe, whose creed is that "might makes right," and who is bent upon the conquest of weaker nations wherever opportunity may safely offer. The Boers have made all the concessions they could make, far more than any people on earth could be expected to make in like case.

Would not it have been an unpardonable mistake on the part of President Kruger to tarry any longer after such gross denials of common justice by the British Government? Perhaps he waited too long, but up to the last moment he tried honestly to prevent the terrible war that has already cast the shadow

of death into so many homes in both countries. It is due to Mr. Conyngham Greene, the British agent at Pretoria, to state that he also worked for peace up to the last moment, and it is a fact that Messrs. Chamberlain and Milner have not forgiven Mr. Greene for his honorable efforts. He is now in disgrace, so far as his government is concerned.

It is plain to everybody who is reasonably well informed that Messrs. Chamberlain and Milner have in effect openly admitted that the war in South Africa is not started for the purpose of obtaining redress for the grievances of the Uitlanders. Mr. Chamberlain has spoken of the "dangerous ideals of the two Dutch Republics," and Mr. Milner has distinctly stated that he was determined to "break the dominion of Afrikanerdom."

And what were these dangerous ideals of the two Republics? Simply the determination of the Boers to maintain their independence and liberty and to uphold their Dutch character. Is this a sin against civilization? Have not the Boers always been the pioneers of civilization in South Africa? It was they who first opened that region of country to commerce. Their natural desire to gather the fruits of their own toil, paid for in blood and tears, is now called "a dangerous ideal." Has not England had time and again every possible chance to reconcile the Dutch element in this region to British dominion? And what do we see? For almost a century the Cape Colony has been under English rule, and yet the Dutch language is still spoken by a majority of the population. The Afrikaners have a majority in the Cape Parliament, with an Afrikaner Prime Minister. The Dutch element still has a dominat-

ing influence in South Africa. Superior power has taken the land from them, but it can never convert the Boer to British thought or rule.

Instead of treating the Dutch kindly, the English governments followed the policy of slandering, defaming and humiliating them, driving them again and again from their old settlements into the wilderness. And still the English think that the Dutch should accept them as masters. By a kind treatment they might have reconciled the Dutch, for as James Anthony Froude, the well known English historian, remarked: "The Boer responds more readily than most men to kindness and justice. If you try to drive him, there is no mule in either hemisphere more stubborn."

And yet the English boast that they can subdue the Dutch descendants of the heroes of the Eighty Years' War. For an answer to this I wish again to quote what Olive Schreiner says in her Essay:

"I suppose it would be quite possible for the soldiers to shoot all male South Africans who appeared in arms against them. It might not be easy, a great many might fall, but a great Empire could always import more to take their places; we could not import more, because it would be our husbands and sons and fathers who were falling, and when they were done we could not produce more. Then the war would be over. There would not be a house in Africa—where African-born men and women lived—without its mourners, from Sea Point to the Limpopo; but South Africa would be pacified—as Cromwell pacified Ireland three centuries ago, and she has been being pacified ever since! As Virginia was

pacified in 1677; its handful of men and women in defence of their freedom were soon silenced by hired soldiers. 'I care that for the power of England,' said 'a notorious and wicked rebel' called Sarah Drummond, as she took a small stick, and broke it, and lay it on the ground. A few months after her husband and all the men with him were made prisoners, and the war was over. 'I am glad to see you,' said Berkeley, the English governor, 'I have long wished to meet you; you will be hanged in half an hour!' and he was hanged and twenty-one others with him, and Virginia was pacified. But a few generations later in that State of Virginia was born George Washington, and on the 19th of April, 1775, was fought the battle of Lexington—'Where once the embattled farmers stood, and fired a shot, heard round the world,'—and the greatest crime and the greatest folly of England's career was completed. England acknowledges it now. A hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand imported soldiers might walk over South Africa; it would not be an easy walk; but it could be done. Then from east and west and north and south would come men of pure English blood to stand beside the boys they had played with at school, and the friends they had loved; and a great despairing cry would rise from the heart of Africa. But we are still few. When the war was over the imported soldiers might leave the land—not all; some must be left to keep the remaining people down. There would be quiet in the land. South Africa would rise up silently, and count her dead and bury them. She would know the places where she found them. South Africa would be peaceful. There would be silence, the

silence of a long exhaustion—but not peace! Have the dead no voices? In a thousand farmhouses black robed women would hold memory of the count, and outside under African stones would lie the African men to whom South African women gave birth under our blue sky. There would be silence, but no peace.

“You say that all the fighting men in arms might have been shot. Yes, but what of the women? If there were left but five thousand pregnant South African-born women, and all the rest of their people destroyed, those women would breed up again a race like to the first. Oh, lion-heart of the North, do you not recognize your own lineage in these whelps of the South? We cannot live if we are not free!

“The grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the men who lay under the stones (who will not be English then, nor Dutch, but only Africans), will say, as they pass those heaps: ‘There lie our fathers or great-grandfathers who died in the first great War of Independence,’ and the descendants of the men who lay there will be the aristocracy of Africa. Men will count back to them and say: ‘My father or my great-grandfather lay in one of those graves.’ We shall know no more of Dutch or English then; we shall know only one great African people.”

And now the war has come with all its terrors. Thousands of brave men have fallen already on both sides, either killed or maimed for life. Thousands of children have become fatherless, thousands of wives and mothers will vainly wait for the return of their husbands and sons. And for what purpose did the soldiers of England give their lives? For right,

for justice, for civilization? No, a thousand times no! They died because Mr. Chamberlain and his party of stock jobbers and speculators, supported by the Jingoës, want the Republics of South Africa and the gold mines therein. And all this happening at the end of the nineteenth century!

Is there anything that can more strikingly describe the horrors of this war than the following touching story told in the letter of an English soldier:

"We were out looking after the wounded at night when the fight was over, when I came across an old, white-bearded Boer. He was lying behind a bit of rock, supporting himself on his elbows. . . .

"I kept my eye on the old chap. But when I got near I saw that he was too far gone to raise his rifle. He was gasping hard for breath, and I saw he was not long for this world. He motioned to me that he wanted to speak, and I bent over him. He asked me to go and find his son—a boy of thirteen—who had been fighting by his side when he fell.

"Well, I did as he asked me, and under a heap of wounded I found the lad, stone dead, and I carried him back to his father. Well, you know I'm not a chicken-hearted sort of a fellow. I have seen a bit of fighting in my time, and that sort of thing knocks all the soft out of a chap.

"But I had to turn away when the old Boer saw his dead lad. He hugged the body to him and moaned over it, and carried on in a way that fetched a big lump in my throat. Until that very moment I never thought how horrible war is. I never wanted to see another shot fired. And when I looked round again the old Boer was dead, clasping the cold hand of his dead boy."

And how do the Boers carry on this War? Do they behave like half barbarians, as they were and still are called by the British? Do not they treat their wounded enemies and prisoners with the greatest kindness, even with true Christian forgiveness? And how do the highly civilized British behave? I need only refer to the slaughter of the sixty Boers at Elandsplaagte in cold blood by the Royal Lancers. This is no Boer report; the atrocities were minutely described in the approving London *Times* in letters from soldiers and officers.

"Fine pig sticking;" "The bag was sixty," so writes one of Her Majesty's officers. These men and officers of the Royal Lancers still serve Queen Victoria. They were not considered to have disgraced the uniform. But in every land outside of the British Empire they have placed themselves beyond the pale of humanity and have brought everlasting contempt and disgrace on the British army.

Allow me to refer to the behavior of an officer of our own country at the moment of victory—to the immortal words of Captain (now Rear Admiral) Philip of the United States Navy at the battle of Santiago:

"Don't cheer, boys, the poor fellows are dying!"

The British officer boasting that he and his soldiers killed defenceless enemies, enjoying the sport as if it were a mere "pig sticking," and the other officer stopping the very natural cheering of his men at the moment of victory in the presence of a dying enemy, and all his men reverentially obeying his command!

Another instance of the brutal violation of civil-

ized warfare as carried on by the mother of civilization was the tragic death of General Kock. By uncontradicted evidence it is shown that the general did not die of his wound, but only in consequence of the exposure and neglect. He was stripped by British soldiers while lying helpless on the field.

The following is a copy of the protest sent by the government of the South African Republic to the foreign consuls at Pretoria:

"I have the honor to call your Government's attention both to the report announcing the engagement last night (October 18) between a commando and the English near Mafeking, the English having 1,000 Kaffir auxiliaries (one of whom was wounded and is a prisoner), and the results of this information and other reports coming in from the east frontier where the Kaffirs have been called to arms by the British authorities.

"This shows that the British Government commits the unpardonable crime of arming the blacks against the whites in a struggle unjustly forced on the South African Republic. This act may have the gravest consequences for all white Africa.

"I am commanded to inform your Government that a further document received is General Joubert's protest to Secretary Reitz, at Pretoria, under six heads, as follows:

"First.—That the British at Elandslaagte fired on an ambulance.

"Second.—That a British lancer attempted to assassinate a doctor wearing the Geneva cross, missing the surgeon, but killing his horse.

"Third.—The tying of thirteen prisoners, some of them wounded, behind a Maxim gun and dragging them along.

"Fourth.—That at Dundee the fugitives retired under cover of a white flag while the main body was fighting the Orange Free State troops.

"Fifth.—That an armored train, protected by a white flag, repaired a bridge.

"Sixth.—That the British are recruiting mounted Basutos.

"General Joubert appends a document seized among an officer's effects at Dundee. The paper is a communication from a Basutoland magistrate, informing the general commanding the Glencoe camp that there will be no difficulty in procuring Basutos at 5 shillings per day, and asking: 'Must they bring their horses?'

"General Joubert added: 'I am preserving the original of this document.' "

The terrible consequences of the use of Kaffirs by the English are illustrated by the following report:

"RUSTENBURG, 16th of December, 1899.

"At the Landdrost's office of the Rustenburg district has been deposited the evidence, confirmed by oath, of women and girls whom the English had caught by Kaffirs. They declare that while being held by the Kaffirs they were outraged by the English.

"Do raise your voices in the name of humanity and civilization against such atrocities. The poor beings are at the hospital at this moment.

"BARON VON DALWIG.

"Formerly Captain of the Royal Prussian Horse,

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now Captain and Commander of a Battery in the Boer Army."

How the Red Cross flag is respected by the English is fitly illustrated in a report of Dr. Ransbottom, head of the Boer Red Cross.

On November 28 Dr. Ransbottom was ordered by General Cronje to proceed with his ambulance to the battlefield. After finishing their work the doctors were informed by the British commander that they and all the nurses were considered as prisoners of war. Their protests were ignored, and the doctors were sent to Cape Town, and arrived there on December 4th, having made the trip in cattle trucks. They were then informed that it was all a mistake and on the same day were returned to the Modder River. Upon their arrival there they asked for their wagons and material, and Captain Ross informed them that he had been instructed not to give them up, and the doctors and nurses had to walk with their baggage on their back to the Boer camp.

Of course this was merely a "mistake" of some overzealous British officer, but the question arises, Where are the Boer ambulance wagons?

I recall the slandering cablegrams, containing the accusations in the strongest language, that the Boers disregarded the white flag and were shooting upon the ambulances of the Red Cross Society. But General Buller was compelled to cable to his home government that this was "satisfactorily explained by the enemy." I wish to recall the official statement of Major Donegan, chief medical officer at Glencoe, who wired to the state secretary at Pretoria an expression of thanks on behalf of all the British officers

and men in the hospitals at Glencoe, for the extreme kindness shown them by the Boer officers and men.

I wish to recall General Joubert's kind act toward Lady Symons. From an excellent sketch given by the New York *Herald* of November 12, describing "Slim Piet," his pet name among Afrikanders, which means literally crafty or clever Peter (or to put it in plain English: "He was one too many for me, or he outwitted me!"), as a kind gentleman, splendid general, the idol of his fighting men, I take the following:

"Have not you English always followed on our heels—not on us here only, but all over the world, always conquering, always getting more land? We were independent when you came here. We are independent now, and you shall never take our independence from us. The whole people will fight. You may shed blood over all South Africa, but it will only be over our dead bodies that you will seize our independence. Every Dutchman in South Africa will fight against you. Even the women will fight. You may take away our lives, but our independence—never."

"That is what Pietrus Jacobus Joubert said to an English correspondent in Pretoria two years ago. It was printed in a London newspaper November 30, 1897. Joubert is showing the world to-day something of the fine old Dutch spirit he talked of in 1897. He is doing some of that fighting he predicted then.

"It was very much like Joubert to talk like that to the English correspondent, and very much like

him, too, to cable condolences to Lady Symons over the dead body of her fallen husband. He is frankness and honesty personified. He is a man and a soldier of the type Englishmen and Americans like. Nothing could be more courteous than his treatment of his English prisoners from Ladysmith. Nothing could be more kinder than his care for the wounded enemy.

"Nothing is written about Joubert that is not comment on his fairness.

"General Joubert told the truth when more than two years ago he predicted that even the women would fight for liberty, for I have found in the official lists of the wounded and killed which I received from South Africa lately, many names of young women, who fought side by side with their husbands and relatives."

And still the British press continue to call the Boers cowards, but the Boers can well afford to remain silent. Magersfontein, Colenso, Stormberg and Spion Kop speak louder than words can do.

How can England expect sympathy from the descendants of the Dutch, who settled that country and who are one large family, related by kinship?

Step by step England has, by its mighty power and money, taken the conquered land from the Dutch, who are a peaceful and God-fearing people. Are these Boers to blame if they prefer to die rather than give up their last acre of land?

They have been driven from the one place to the other, and they have found no rest. It is always England and English elements that disturb the peace.

A high official wrote to me from Pretoria in September:

"We desire peace and a quiet developing of our beloved country, and you may rest assured that if war breaks out it will be forced upon us by the impossibility of submitting to unreasonable demands. If it comes, we shall defend our fatherland to the last drop of our blood."

These patriotic people simply desire to keep their country, which they have developed and civilized.

I heard recently an Englishman say: "We are foolish to spill so much blood to get that little piece of land. Have we not territory enough?" I fully agree with him. How many lives of both countries have already been sacrificed? How much distress is already brought over so many families who mourn the loss of their beloved ones? But War, War! is still the cry in England, and still growing fiercer. Oorlog! Oorlog! was the signal heard over the veldts of South Africa. War among people made by the same Creator of mankind! Who is to blame for this terrible slaughter of men? I again call the attention of the reader to those dishonest men who created the so-called "grievances of the Uitlanders." The Boers honestly tried to meet even the pretended grievances, but as Olive Schreiner sadly remarked: "There have been told so many lies about them."

And who are the people who have told these lies? They are the same British Uitlanders, now safely located at Cape Town and Durban, who, under the leadership of Rhodes, and aided by his subsidized press, have slandered the Boers for years.

But there are other Uitlanders: Americans, Germans, Hollanders, Belgians, Irish, Scandinavians,



PRESIDENT KRUGER ENTERING HIS CARRIAGE.

TO MAINTAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE. 65

French, Swiss, Italians, even English, have of their own free will taken up arms against Great Britain and pledged fidelity to the Republic.

The *Washington Post* of January 15, 1900, contains an article written by my friend, Mr. Fred F. Schrader, from which I quote the following:

"I know of no single instance that punctures the fabric of the luminous lie about the grievance of the Outlanders as simply and completely as the following letter, received by the secretary of state for the Transvaal republic, Mr. F. W. Reitz:

"P. O. Box 5, JOHANNESBURG, 14 Oct., '99.

"HONORED SIR—I have to request you will forward to the high commissioner at the earliest opportunity the inclosed medal for services rendered by me to Her Majesty the Queen. My other decorations will be forwarded to the military authorities in England.

"So much for the agitation for the franchise.

"I am, honorable sir, your obedient servant,

EDW. L. STRATTON-COLLINS.

"Hon. F. W. Reitz, State Secretary.'

"Mr. Collins was until four years ago a captain in the British army. He resigned and went to the gold fields. He lived peaceably and prospered until the agitation of the past three years almost ruined his business. When war was declared, he took the oath of allegiance to the Republic, has sent all his medals of honor and heroism back to the English Government, and is now on the border fighting as a true burgher against what he knows to be, by personal observation, the scheme of Rhodes to over-

throw a peaceable government. There are other similar instances."

President Kruger has been accused of oppressing the Jewish population. The truth is that the Jews in the Transvaal are among his warmest friends and admirers. They have formed companies, which are now doing police duty to guard the towns.

It is an acknowledged fact that President Kruger is one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever produced. His diplomacy, knowledge of international affairs and his natural sagacity have astonished the nations of the world, although he never had any training in that direction. He remains, however, the humble Oom Paul, taking the natural-born talents as an undeserved gift from the hands of his Lord and Master, not to be tied up in a napkin, but to be accounted for as a faithful steward.

He has at his side, as State Secretary, the Hon. F. W. Reitz, ex-President of the Orange Free State, one of the ablest jurists in South Africa, a man who possesses the confidence of his people, and is admired and respected by every one with whom he comes in contact. Olive Schreiner describes him as a man who manifested in his career a beautiful character. Dr. Reitz is the successor of Dr. W. J. Leyds, who served the country in the same capacity for a number of years. Dr. Leyds has succeeded Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic in Europe. He has been accredited to and fully recognized by the following powers: Russia, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal. He is a scholar and a distinguished lawyer, and is known as a specialist on international law. His working ability is well

known, and he serves his adopted country in his present position with great devotion.

While the second gentleman of the land, the popular Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces, General Joubert, is directing the military operations with his able generals, Schalk, Burger, Botha, De Wet and others in the field (alas! our brave Cronje, the "lion of South Africa," is now deprived of serving his beloved country), the President is surrounded at home with excellent men like Reitz, Wolmarans and other members of Council, directing the internal affairs of the Republic, and he is well represented in Europe by his former Secretary of State.

If we realize this situation of affairs, does it not stir up a feeling of admiration for these brave and patriotic men who are so well able to rule their own country if they were let alone? Is it not a shame that they are now compelled to fight for their liberties—a war declared for conquest by a lustful monarchy? But they will submit until the last extremity, for they are a brave people—free Republicans as we are here in America. They are our brethren, brethren in more than one sense. Their symbol is ours, their principles are ours, they love as we do freedom and independence. They have the same flag—only they added the green to it, the color of hope—that same dear old red, white and blue, adopted as our flag after the Declaration of Independence. They are fighting the same nation that our people fought—not to gain independence, but to maintain their independence. My fellow-citizens, do you know that these South African burghers are the descendants of the same Dutch people who first settled Manhattan Island?

New York, formerly New Amsterdam; Breukelen, afterwards called Brooklyn, and Harlem, were each founded by these sturdy Dutch who came here with their Bible under their arm to build up a new country. There is no country whose history is more closely connected with the history of the United States of America than little Holland. It was the Dutch, who, for love of the principles of America, fought in the ranks of George Washington, the father of his country. It was the Dutch who first took sides with the Americans in their struggle for liberty and independence, and the first who saluted the flag which was the same as theirs. It was the Dutch who sent their battleships to this coast and landed provisions to feed the soldiers, facing the fleet of England. It was the Dutch in Manhattan and Staten Island with whom the great founder of this country spent his happiest hours. He loved them and was by them beloved.

It was the "Unie van Utrecht" after which the Constitution of America was formulated, and the "Afzwering van Philip" on which the Declaration of Independence was founded—two of the most important Dutch national documents were thus taken as a model to aid the lawmakers of America to form the great Republic of the United States.

The Holland American has a right to be proud of his pedigree. There are thousands and thousands of Americans who can trace their ancestry to the land of the great "William the Silent," that little country small in compass, but great in history. We find them to-day, as in the past, among the most prominent men in this country, many in high authority. The nation is at present in mourning over the

death of one of her noblest citizens, our esteemed Vice-President, who was on his mother's side of Dutch blood. We have lost in him one of the most popular Vice-Presidents this country ever had; President Kruger lost in him a warm sympathizer and friend.

My fellow-Americans, do you hear the voice of this people, who are fighting for the same principle this country fought for in 1776? Would it not be a crime against civilization to see our sister republics wiped out from the face of the earth and swallowed up by any European power, under the pretence of "protecting the rights of its subjects?" Can there be found one true American, born or adopted, who remembers George Washington and his patriot army—the great preserver of this country—and who does not sympathize with our brethren in South Africa? For almost a century they have been oppressed, gradually the richest land has been taken from them. Is it any wonder that their determination is now, "We shall not give up our land, unless they walk over our dead bodies?" Can it be a surprise that the true South Afrikaner in Cape Colony and Natal takes the side of his friends and relatives when it is that of justice and of God-given right?

"The Boers do not ask for mercy," says Dr. Engelenburg, editor of the Pretoria *Volkstem*, in his article "A Transvaal View of the South African Question," "they ask for justice.

"Those who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness, or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled oppor-

tunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tears; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past, the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs; for they know they have right on their side."

Notwithstanding the many reverses to the British arms, Mr. Chamberlain and the majority of the British Parliament still profess to believe in the ultimate success of England; but the English never expected to lose their American colonies, but they did nevertheless.

It is my honest opinion that Great Britain will never conquer the Boers, and I believe with President Kruger, who believes that Providence is with them, because their cause is one of justice and righteousness.

If any one should ask me what special interest has America in the welfare of South Africa, or in what relation do we stand to them from a commercial standpoint, I would refer to the increasing demand of American machineries and other articles of commerce which were exported there in the last few years. England takes, at present, the lead in the trade, but America is next. In 1897, America had exported to the Transvaal alone merchandise to the amount of \$13,500,000; and, as the South Afrikanders are in hearty sympathy with America and American institutions, you may rest assured—if they are not utterly crushed in their present struggle against English oppression—that the commercial transactions in the near future will be increased tenfold, for they are anxious to obtain close relations

with the great sister Republic. The latter is certainly a consummation not hoped for by England or her merchants.

There is no doubt that the sympathy of the Americans in general is with the Boers. "An immense deal is being made of the American sympathy in this country," says the London correspondent of the *Baltimore American*, in his cablegram of November 18, 1899:

"It is strange that so powerful an empire as Great Britain, with 400,000,000 of people and three-fifths of the wealth of the globe, should be specially anxious for the sympathy of anybody when trying to whip two little states, which have not all told more than 200,000 inhabitants. Great Britain is 8,000 times as great as the Transvaal and the Orange Free State combined, and she is probably a million times their superior in actual wealth. It is a *sign of weakness*, therefore, to be making so much of the *alleged friendship* of the United States, of which there is no evidence except the movement for the *fitting out of a hospital ship*, which is distinctly British. The women engaged in it *are all* married to Englishmen, and can in no sense be regarded as Americans. The London *Times*, through its correspondent, makes the assertion that the United States Government has granted British agents certain privileges at American ports in contravention of the neutrality laws, with the proviso that they are not to be regarded as a precedent, and the *Times* writes an editorial panegyric a column and a half long. The despatch is probably imaginary as to its facts. It is impossible to believe that the government of the United States could have done anything of the sort."

There is much talk about the close relationship which it is alleged exists between the two great countries, the United States and England, pointing in proof thereof to the ties of the "Anglo-Saxon" race, as though other nations should be excluded. Allow me to make the remark that the Dutch and Germans are a branch of that very same race. Or, to speak more correctly, the Angles and Saxons were low German tribes, as were the ancient Dutch.

We hear always of the English people as the great promoters of Anglo-Saxon civilization and progress, but I want better proof than mere boasting. Let me refer to the history of this great country and ask: Did not the Dutch bring civilization with them when they settled New York, and did the German and other nationalities leave civilization at home when they came to our shores? We absolutely deny the story that the English civilized South Africa. It was the Boers who have changed its wildernesses into a beautiful country. It was the Boers who educated the natives there. The Kaffirs, Malays and other tribes speak the language of the Boers, and even the Hottentots have adopted the Cape Dutch as their native tongue.

Really the Boers can govern the land of their fathers; they do not need British interference or civilization. They have been driven from their land every time as it was developed into prosperity, and perhaps they might have left it again and trek further into the interior if it were not that they are completely surrounded by British territory. So they can go no further. Therefore they have this time determined to conquer or to die.

The English historian Froude, admitting the

wrong done by his country, referring to the annexation of the Transvaal by Shepstone in the name of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, said:

"We have annexed a country as large as France which belonged to Dutchmen. Dutchmen do not like to have their independence taken from them any more than we do, and nobody exactly knows why we did it. I believe that in our hearts we are sorry now that we annexed it at all, and we would be glad to get rid of it again if we only knew how to get rid of it without seeming ridiculous to the rest of the world."

The time might come that England's pride will receive a more severe blow than it received at Majuba Hill, for the Boer cause is one of justice and righteousness. No true Americans can help sympathizing with the God-fearing sturdy Boers.

The claim that England stood by us in the late war with Spain is not any reason why we should sympathize with a policy of injustice toward our brethren in South Africa, or that we should sympathize with a war uncalled for, condemned by the civilized people all over the world, and subjected to bitter criticism by many prominent men in Great Britain itself.

We should stand by the Boers and inspire them, even at this distance, with our hearty wishes for their success in their noble struggle. We send our greetings to Oom Paul, the beloved patriot of his country. We send our salute to the gallant Commander-in-Chief, General Joubert, and his army of brave men who defend their country and their homes so nobly and heroically. We should forward our sincere sympathy to the wounded and sufferers, our

heartfelt condolence to the widows and orphans of those who gave their lives for a just cause, and every liberty loving American should pray that peace, an everlasting peace, may soon reign over South African soil.

The brave burghers might meet with reverses, if they are outnumbered ten to one, as recent events have shown; but their liberty, their republican principles, they will never surrender to British power.

"The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice."

C. W. VAN DER HOOGT.

A CENTURY OF INJUSTICE.

INTRODUCTION.

BROTHER AFRIKANDERS!

Once more in the annals of our bloodstained history has the day dawned when we are forced to grasp our weapons in order to resume the struggle for liberty and existence, entrusting our national cause to that Providence which has guided our people throughout South Africa in such a miraculous way.

The struggle of now nearly a century, which began when a foreign rule was forced upon the people of the Cape of Good Hope, hastens to an end; we are approaching the last act in that great drama which is so momentous for all South Africa; we have reached a stage when it will be decided whether the sacrifices which both our fathers and we ourselves have made in the cause of freedom have been offered in vain; whether the blood of our race, with which every part of South Africa has been, as it were, consecrated, has been shed in vain; and whether, by the grace of God, the last stone will now be built into the edifice which our fathers began with so much toil and so much sorrow.

The hour has struck which will decide whether South Africa, in jealously guarding its liberty, will enter upon a new phase of its history, or whether our existence as a people will come to an end,

whether we shall be exterminated in the deadly struggle for that liberty which we have prized above all earthly treasures, and whether South Africa will be dominated by Capitalists without conscience, acting in the name and under the protection of an unjust and hated Government 7,000 miles away from here.

In this hour it behooves us to cast a glance back at the history of this great struggle. We do so not to justify ourselves, because liberty, for which we have sacrificed everything, has justified us and screened our faults and failings, but we do so in order that we may be, as it were, sanctified and prepared for the conflict which lies before us, bearing in mind what our people have done and suffered by the help of God. In this way we may be enabled to continue the work of our fathers, and possibly to complete it. Their deeds of heroism in adventures with Bantu and Briton shine forth like guiding stars through the history of the past, in order to point out the way for posterity to reach that goal for which our sorely tried people have made such great sacrifices, and for which they have undergone so many vicissitudes.

The historical survey will, moreover, aid in bringing into stronger relief those naked truths to which the tribunal of impartial history will assuredly testify hereafter, in adjudging the case between ourselves and our enemy. And the questions which present themselves for solution in the approaching conflict have their origin deep in the history of the past; it is only by the light of that history that it becomes possible to discern and appreciate the drifting straws which float on the currents of to-day. By its light we are more clearly enabled to compre-

hend the truth, to which our people appeal as a final justification for embarking upon the war now so close at hand.

History will show convincingly that the pleas of humanity, civilization, and equal rights, upon which the British Government bases its actions, are nothing else but the recrudescence of that spirit of annexation and plunder which has at all times characterized its dealings with our people.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE cause for which we are about to take up arms is the same, though in somewhat different form, as that for which so many of our forefathers underwent the most painful experiences centuries ago, when they abandoned house and fatherland to settle at the Cape of Good Hope. In the beautiful valleys lying between the blue mountains of the Cape of Good Hope they planted the seed-germ of liberty, which sprang up and has since developed with such startling rapidity into the giant tree of to-day—a tree which not only covers a considerable area in this part of the world, but will yet, in God's good time, we feel convinced, stretch out its leafy branches over the whole of South Africa. In spite of the oppressive bonds of the East India Company, the young settlement, containing the noblest blood of old Europe as well as its most exalted aspirations, grew so powerfully that, in 1806, when the Colony passed into the hands of England, a strong national sentiment and a spirit of liberty had already been developed.

As is forcibly expressed in an old document dating from the most renowned period of our history, there grew out of the two stocks of Hollanders and French Huguenots "a united people, one in religion, united in peaceful reverence for the law, but with a feeling of liberty and independence equal to the wide expanse of territory which they had rescued as a labor of love from the wilderness of nature, or from its still wilder aboriginal inhabitants." When the Dutch Government made way for that of Great Britain in 1806, and, still more, when that change was sealed in 1814, the little settlement entered upon a new phase of its history, a phase, indeed, in which its people were destined, by their heroic struggle for justice, to enlist a world-wide sympathy on their behalf.

Notwithstanding the wild surroundings and the innumerable savage tribes in the background, the young Afrikaner nation had been welded into a white aristocracy, proudly conscious of having maintained its superiority notwithstanding arduous struggles. It was this sentiment of just pride which the British Government well understood how to wound in its most sensitive part by favoring the Natives as against the Afrikanders. So, for example, the Afrikaner Boers were forced to look with pained eyes on the scenes of their farms and property devastated by the Natives without being in the position of defending themselves, because the British Government had even deprived them of their ammunition. In the same way the liberty-loving Afrikaner burgher was coerced by a police composed of Hot-tentots, the lowest and most despicable class of the aborigines, whom the Afrikanders justly placed on

a far lower social level than that of their own Malay slaves.

No wonder that in 1815 a number of the Boers were driven into rebellion, a rebellion which found an awful ending in the horrible occurrence on the 9th of March, 1816, where six of the Boers were half hung up in the most inhuman way, and in the compulsory presence of their wives and children. Their death was truly horrible, for the gallows broke down before the end came; but they were again hoisted up in the agony of dying, and strangled to death in the murderous tragedy of Slachter's Nek. Whatever opinions have been formed of this occurrence in other respects, it was at Slachter's Nek that the first bloodstained beacon was erected which marks the boundary between Boer and Briton in South Africa, and the eyes of posterity still glance back shuddering through the long vista of years at that tragedy of horror.

This was, however, but the beginning. Under the cloak of religion British administration continued to display its hate against our people and nationality, and to conceal its self-seeking aims under cover of the most exalted principles. The aid of religion was invoked to reinforce the policy of oppression in order to deal a deeper and more fatal blow to our self-respect. Emissaries of the London Missionary Society slandered the Boers, and accused them of the most inhuman cruelties to the Natives. These libellous stories, endorsed as they were by the British Government, found a ready ear among the English, and the result was that under the pressure of powerful philanthropic opinion in England, our unfortunate people were more bitterly persecuted

than ever, and were finally compelled to defend themselves in courts of law against the coarsest accusations and insults. But they emerged from the ordeal triumphantly, and the records of the criminal courts of the Cape Colony bear indisputable witness to the fact that there were no people among the slave-owning classes of the world more humane than the Afrikaner Boers. Their treatment of the Natives was based on the theory that Natives ought not to be considered as mature and fully developed people, but that they were in reality children who had to be won over to civilization by just and rigid discipline; they hold the same convictions on this subject to-day, and the enlightened opinion of the civilized world is inclining more and more to the same conclusion. But the fact that their case was a good one, and that it was triumphantly decided in their favor in the law courts, did not serve to diminish, but rather tended to sharpen, the feeling of injustice with which they had been treated.

A livelier sense of wrong was quickened by the way in which the emancipation of the slaves—in itself an excellent measure—was carried out in the case of the Boers.

Our forefathers had become owners of slaves, chiefly imported in English ships and sold to us by Englishmen. The British Government decided to abolish slavery. We had no objection to this, provided we received adequate compensation. Our slaves had been valued by British officials at three millions, but of the twenty millions voted by the Imperial Government for compensation, only one and a quarter millions was destined for South Africa; and this sum was payable in London. It was



TYPICAL BOER OF THE COUNTRY.

impossible for us to go there, so we were forced to sell our rights to middlemen and agents for a mere song; and many of our people were so overwhelmed by the difficulties placed in their way that they took no steps whatever to receive their share of the compensation.

Grayheads and widows who had lived in ease and comfort went down poverty-stricken to the grave, and gradually the hard fact was borne in upon us that there was no such thing as Justice for us in England.

Froude, the English historian, hits the right nail on the head when he says:—

“Slavery at the Cape had been rather domestic than predial; the scandals of the West India plantations were unknown among them.

“Because the Dutch are a deliberate and slow people, not given to enthusiasm for new ideas, they fell into disgrace with us, where they have ever since remained. The unfavorable impression of them became a tradition of the English Press, and, unfortunately, of the Colonial Office. We had treated them unfairly as well as unwisely, and we never forgive those whom we have injured.”

But this was not all. When the English obtained possession of the Cape Colony by convention, the Fish River formed the eastern boundary. The Kaffirs raided the Colony from time to time, but especially in 1834, when they murdered, plundered, and outraged the helpless Colonists in an awful and almost indescribable manner. The Governor was ultimately prevailed upon to free the strip of territory beyond the Fish River from the raids of the Kaffirs, and this was done by the aid of the Boers.

But Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, reversed this policy and restored the whole territory to the natives. He maligned the Boers in even more forcible terms than the emissaries of the London Missionary Society, and openly favored the Kaffirs, placing them on a higher pedestal than the Boers. The latter had succeeded in rescuing their cattle from the Kaffirs, but were forced to look on passively while the very same cattle, with the owner's brand marks plainly visible, were sold by public auction to defray the cost of the commando. It was useless to hope for justice from Englishmen. There was no security for life and property under the flag of a Government which openly elected to uphold Wrong. The high-minded descendants of the proudest and most stubborn peoples of Europe had to bend the knee before a Government which united a commercial policy of crying injustice with a veneer of simulated philanthropy.

But it was not only in regard to the Natives that the Boers were oppressed and their rights violated. When the Cape was transferred to England in 1806, their language was guaranteed to the Dutch inhabitants. This guarantee was, however, soon to meet the same fate as the treaties and conventions which were concluded by England with our people at later periods.

The violator of treaties fulfilled its obligation by decreeing in 1825 that all documents were for the future to be written in English. Petitions in the language of the country and complaints about bitter grievances were not even acknowledged. The Boers were excluded from the juries because their knowledge of English was too faulty, and their causes and

actions had to be determined by Englishmen, with whom they had nothing in common.

After twenty years' experience of British administration it had become abundantly clear to the Boers that there was no prospect of peace and prosperity before them, for their elementary rights had been violated, and they could only expect oppression. They were without adequate guarantees of protection, and their position had become intolerable in the Cape Colony.

They decided to sell home, farm, and all that remained over from the depredations of the Kaffirs, and to trek away from British rule. The Colony was at this time bounded on the north by the Orange River.

At first, Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom was consulted; but he was of opinion that there was no law which could prevent the Boers from leaving the Colony and settling elsewhere. Even if such a statute existed, it would be tyrannical, as well as impossible, to enforce it.

The Cape Attorney-General, Mr. Oliphant, expressed the same opinion, adding that it was clear that the emigrants were determined to go into another country, and not to consider themselves British subjects any longer. The same thing was happening daily in the emigration from England to North America, and the British Government was and would remain powerless to stop the evil.

The territory to the north of the Orange River and to the east of the Drakensberg lay outside the sphere of British influence or authority, and was, as far as was then known, inhabited by savages; but the Boers decided to brave the perils of the wilder-

ness and to negotiate with the savages for the possession of a tract of country, and so form an independent community, rather than remain any longer under British rule.

In the words of Piet Retief, when he left Grahamstown:

"We despair of saving the Colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

"We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

"We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other colored classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the Colony, which has desolated the frontier district and ruined most of the inhabitants.

"We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favor; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

"We quit this Colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

"We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth,

in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavor to obey.

"In the name of all who leave the Colony with me,
"P. RETIEF."

We journeyed then with our fathers beyond the Orange River into the unknown north, as free men and subjects of no sovereign upon earth. Then began what the English member of parliament, Sir William Molesworth, termed a strange sort of pursuit. The trekking Boer followed by the British Colonial Office was indeed the strangest pursuit ever witnessed on earth.

The British Parliament even passed a law in 1836 to impose punishments beyond their jurisdiction up to the 25th degree south, and when we trekked further north Lord Grey threatened to extend this unrighteous law to the Equator. It may be remarked that in this law it was specially enacted that no sovereignty or overlordship was to be considered as established thereby over the territory in question.

The first trek was that of Trichardt and the Van Rensburgs. They went to the north, but the Van Rensburgs were massacred in the most horrible way by the Kaffirs, and Trichardt's party reached Delagoa Bay after indescribable sufferings in a poverty-stricken condition, only to die there of malarial fever.

THE FOUNDING OF NATAL.

THE second trek was equally unfortunate. After Piet Retief had duly paid for and obtained possession from Dingaan, Chief of the Zulus, of that tract of territory now known as Natal, the latter, incited by some Englishmen, treacherously murdered him and his party on the 6th February, 1838; 66 Boers and 30 of their followers perished. The Great Trek thus lost its most courageous and noble-minded leader.

Dingaen then sent two of his armies, and they overcame the women and children and the aged at Boesmans River (Blaauw-krantz), where the village of Weenen now stands; 282 white people and 252 servants were massacred.

Towards the end of the year we entered the land of this criminal with a small commando of 464 men, and on the 16th December, 1838—since known as "Dingaen's Day," the proudest in our history—we overthrew the military might of the Zulus, consisting of 10,000 warriors, and burned Dingaan's chief kraal.

After that we settled down peaceably in Natal and established a new Republic. The territory had been purchased with our money and baptized with our blood. But the Republic was not permitted to remain in peace for long. The Colonial Office was in pursuit. The Government first of all decided upon a military occupation of Natal, for, as Governor Napier wrote to Lord Russell on the 22d June, 1840, "it was apparently the fixed determination of Her Majesty's Government not to extend Her Colonial

possessions in this quarter of the Globe." The only object of the military occupation was to crush the Boers, as the Governor, Sir George Napier, undisguisedly admitted in his dispatch to Lord Glenelg, of the 16th January, 1838. The Boers were to be prevented from obtaining ammunition, and to be forbidden to establish an independent Republic. By these means he hoped to put a stop to the emigration. Lord Stanley instructed Governor Napier, on the 10th April, 1842, to cut the emigrant Boers off from all communication, and to inform them that the British Government would assist the savages against them, and would treat them as rebels.

Twice we successfully withstood the military occupation; more English perished while in flight from drowning than fell by our bullets.

Commissioner Cloete was sent later to annex the young Republic as a reward for having redeemed it for civilization.

The annexation, however, only took place under strong protest. On the 21st February, 1842, the Volksraad of Maritzburg, under the chairmanship of Joachim Prinsloo, addressed the following letter to Governor Napier:

"We know that there is a God, who is the Ruler of heaven and earth, and who has power, and is willing to protect the injured, though weaker, against oppressors. In Him we put our trust, and in the justice of our cause; and should it be His will that total destruction be brought upon us, our wives and children, and everything we possess, we will with due submission acknowledge to have deserved from Him, but not from men. We are aware of the power of Great Britain, and it is not our object to defy that

power; but at the same time we cannot allow that might instead of right shall triumph without having employed all our means to oppose it."

The Boer women of Maritzburg informed the British Commissioner that, sooner than subject themselves again to British sway, they would walk barefoot over the Drakensberg to freedom or to death.

And they were true to their word, as the following incident proves. Andries Pretorius, our brave leader, had ridden through to Grahamstown, hundreds of miles distant, in order to represent the true facts of our case to Governor Pottinger. He was unsuccessful, for he was obliged to return without a hearing from the Governor, who excused himself under the pretext that he had no time to receive Pretorius. When the latter reached the Drakensberg on his return, he found nearly the whole population trekking over the mountains away from Natal and away from British sway. His wife was lying ill in the wagon, and his daughter had been severely hurt by the oxen, which she was forced to lead.

Sir Harry Smith, who succeeded Pottinger, thus described the condition of the emigrant Boers: "They were exposed to a state of misery which he had never before seen equalled, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal. The scene was truly heart-rending."

This is what we had to suffer at the hands of the British Government in connection with Natal.

We trekked back over the Drakensberg to the Free State, where some remained, but others wandered northwards over the Vaal River.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

GIVING effect to Law 6 and 7 William IV., ch. 57, the English appointed a Resident in the Free State. Pretorius, however, gave him forty-eight hours' notice to quit the Republic. Thereupon Sir Harry Smith mobilized an army, chiefly consisting of blacks, against us white people, and fought us at Boomplaats, on the 29th August, 1848. After an obstinate struggle a Boer named Thomas Dreyer was caught by the blacks of Smith's army, and to the shame of English reputation was killed by the English Governor for no other crime than that he was once, though years before, a British subject, and had now dared to fight against Her Majesty's flag.

Another murder and deed of shame in South Africa's account with England.

In the mean time Sir Harry Smith had annexed the Free State as the "Orange River Sovereignty," on the pretext that four-fifths of the inhabitants favored British dominion, and were only intimidated by the power of Pretorius from manifesting their wishes.

But the British Resident soon came into collision with Moshesh, the great and crafty head chieftain of the Basutos.

The Boers were called up to assist, but only 75 responded out of the 1,000 who were called up. The English had then to eat the leek. The Resident informed his Government that the fate of the Orange River Sovereignty depended upon Andries Pretorius, the very man on whose head Sir Harry Smith had

put a price of £2,000. Earl Grey censured and abandoned both Sir Harry Smith and the Resident, Major Warden. saying in his dispatch to the Governor, dated 15th December, 1851, that the British Government had annexed the country on the understanding that the inhabitants had generally desired it. But if they would not support the British Government, which had only been established in their interests, and if they wished to be freed from that authority, there was no longer any use in continuing it.

The Governor was clearly given to understand by the British Government that there was in future to be no interference in any of the wars which might take place between the different tribes and the inhabitants of independent states beyond the Colonial boundaries, no matter how sanguinary such wars might happen to be.

In other words, as Froude says: "In 1852 we had discovered that wars with the Natives and wars with the Dutch were expensive and useless, that sending troops out and killing thousands of Natives was an odd way of protecting them. We resolved then to keep within our own territories, to meddle no more beyond the Orange River, and to leave the Dutch and the Natives to settle their differences among themselves."

And again:

"Grown sick at last of enterprises which led neither to honor nor peace, we resolved, in 1852, to leave Boers, Kaffirs, Basutos and Zulus to themselves and make the Orange River the boundary of British responsibilities. We made formal treaties with the two Dutch States, binding ourselves to in-

terfere no more between them and the Natives, and to leave them either to establish themselves as a barrier between ourselves and the interior of Africa, or to sink, as was considered most likely, in an unequal struggle with warlike tribes, by whom they were infinitely outnumbered."

The administration of the Free State cost the British taxpayer too much. There was an idea, too, that if enough rope were given to the Boer he would hang himself.

A new Governor, Sir George Cathcart, was sent out with two Special Commissioners to give effect to the new policy. A new treaty between England and the Free State was signed, by which full independence was guaranteed to the Republic, the British Government undertaking at the same time not to interfere with any of the Native tribes north of the Orange River.

As Cathcart remarked in his letters—the Sovereignty bubble had burst and the silly Sovereignty farce was played out.

It must not be forgotten that as long as the Free State was English territory it was supposed to include that strip of ground now known as Kimberley and the Diamond Fields; English title deeds had been issued during the Orange River Sovereignty in respect of the ground in question, which was considered to belong to the Sovereignty and to be under the jurisdiction of one of the Sovereignty magistrates. At the re-establishment of the Free State it consequently became a part of the Orange Free State.

Not fifteen years had elapsed since the Convention between England and the Free State before it

was broken by the English. It had been solemnly stipulated that England would not interfere in Native affairs north of the Orange River. The Basutos had murdered the Free Staters, plundered them, ravished their wives, and committed endless acts of violence. After a bitter struggle of three years the Free Staters had succeeded in inflicting a well-merited chastisement on the Basutos, when the British intervened in 1869 in favor of the Natives, notwithstanding the fact that they had reiterated their declaration of non-interference in the Aliwal Convention.

To return to the Diamond Fields, as Froude remarks: "The ink on the Treaty of Aliwal was scarcely dry when diamonds were discovered in large quantities in a district which we had ourselves treated as part of the Orange Territory." Instead of honestly saying that the British Government relied on its superior strength, and on this ground demanded the territory in question, which contained the richest diamond fields in the world, it hypocritically pretended that the real reason of its depriving the Free State of the Diamond Fields was that they belonged to a Native, notwithstanding the fact that this contention was falsified by the judgment of the English courts.

"There was a notion also," says Froude, "that the finest diamond mine in the world ought not to be lost to the British Empire."

The ground was thereupon taken from the Boers, and "from that day no Boer in South Africa has been able to trust to English promises."

Later, when Brand went to England, the British Government acknowledged its guilt and paid £90,000 for the richest diamond fields in the world, a sum

which scarcely represents the daily output of the mines.

But notwithstanding the Free State Convention, notwithstanding the renewed promises of the Aliwal Convention—the Free State was forced to suffer a third breach of the Convention at the hands of the English. Ten thousand rifles were imported into Kimberley through the Cape Colony and sold there to the Natives who encircled and menaced the two Dutch Republics. General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, the British Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, admits that 400,000 guns were sold to Kaffirs during his term of office. Protests from the Transvaal and the Free State were of no avail. And when the Free State in the exercise of its just rights stopped wagons laden with guns on their way through its territory, it was forced to pay compensation to the British Government.

"The Free State," says the historian Froude, "paid the money, but paid it under protest, with an old-fashioned appeal to the God of Righteousness, whom, strange to say, they believed to be a reality."

It seems thus that there is no place for the God of Righteousness in English policy.

So far we have considered our Exodus from the Cape Colony and the way in which we were deprived of Natal and the Free State by England. Now for the case of the Transvaal.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

THE disastrous fate of the Trichardt Trek has already been told. The Trichardts found the Transvaal overrun by the warriors of Moselikatse, the King of the Matabele and father of Lobengula. The other tribes of the Transvaal were his "dogs," according to the Kaffir term.

As soon as he heard of the approach of the emigrant Boers he sent out an army to exterminate them. This army succeeded in cutting off and murdering one or two stragglers, but it was defeated at Vechtkop by the small laager of Sarel Celliers, where the Boer women distinguished themselves by deeds of striking heroism.

Shortly afterwards the emigrant Boers journeyed across the Vaal River, and after two battles drove Moselikatse and his hordes across the Limpopo right into what is now Matabeleland. Andries Pretorius had come into the Transvaal after the annexation of Natal and lived there quietly, notwithstanding the price which had been put on his head after Boomplaats. The British Resident in the Free State, which at this time still belonged to England, was compelled to admit in a letter to the English Governor that the fate of the Free State depended upon the self-same Pretorius. It was owing to his influence that Moshesh had not killed off the English soldiers. People had decided in England—to quote Froude once more—to abandon the Afrikanders and the Kaffirs beyond the borders to their fate, in the hope that the Kaffirs would exterminate the Afrikanders.

According to Molesworth, the English member of parliament, the Colonial Office was delighted when the Governor received a letter in 1851 from Andries Pretorius, Commandant-General of the Transvaal Boers, in which he offered on behalf of his people to enter into negotiations with the British Government for a Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

The price put on his head was promptly cancelled, and when Sir Harry Smith was recalled in disgrace, Governor Cathcart was sent out to recognize the independence of the Boers. The Aberdeen Ministry declared through its representative in the House of Commons that they regretted having crossed the Orange River, as the Boers were hostile to British rule, and that Lord Grey had permitted it out of deference to the views of Sir Harry Smith, against his own better judgment and convictions. This policy was almost unanimously endorsed by the House of Commons.

The proposal of Pretorius was then accepted, and two assistant commissioners, Hogge and Owen, were sent out with Governor Cathcart, and met the Boer representatives at Sand River, a meeting which resulted in the Sand River Convention, respectively signed by both the contracting parties.

In this Convention, as in the later Free State Treaty, the Transvaal Boers were guaranteed in the fullest way against interference or hindrance on the part of Great Britain, either in regard to themselves or the Natives, to whom it was mutually agreed that the sale of firearms and ammunition should be strictly forbidden. The British commissioners reported that the recognition of the independence of the Transvaal Boers would secure great advantages, as it

would ensure their friendship and prevent any union with Moshesh. It would also be a guarantee against slavery and would provide for the extradition of criminals.

On the 13th May, 1852, great satisfaction was expressed by the Governor, Sir George Cathcart, in his proclamation that one of the first acts of his administration was to approve and fully confirm the Sand River Convention. On the 24th June, 1852, the Colonial Secretary also signified his approval of the Convention.

The Republic was now in possession of a Convention, which from the nature of its provisions seemed to promise a peaceful future. In addition to Great Britain it was recognized in Holland, France, Germany, Belgium, and especially in the United States of America. The American Secretary of State at Washington, writing to President Pretorius on the 19th November, 1870, said: "That his Government, while heartily acknowledging the Sovereignty of the Transvaal Republic, would be ready to take any steps which might be deemed necessary for that purpose."

But no reliance could be placed on England's word, even though it was embodied in a Convention duly signed and ratified, for when the Diamond Fields were discovered, barely seventeen years later, England claimed a portion of Transvaal territory next to that part which had already been wrested from the Free State. Arbitration was decided upon. As the arbitrators could not agree, the umpire, Governor Keate, gave judgment against the Transvaal. Thereupon it appeared that the English arbitrator had bought 12,000 morgen (of the ground in dispute)

from the native Chief Waterboer for a mere song, and also that Governor Keate had accepted Waterboer as a British subject, which was contrary to the Convention. Even Dr. Moffat, who was no friend of the Boers, entered a protest in a letter to the *Times*, on the ground that the territory in question had all along been the property of the Transvaal.

But this was only one of the breaches of the Convention. When the 400,000 guns, about which Cunynghame and Modie testify, were sold to the Kaffirs, the Transvaal lodged a strong protest in 1872 with the Cape High Commissioner. Their only satisfaction was an insolent reply from Sir Henry Barkly.

As a crowning act in these deeds of shame came the annexation of the Transvaal by Shepstone on the 12th April, 1877. Sir Bartle Frere was sent out as Governor to Cape Town by Lord Carnarvon to carry out the confederation policy of the latter. Shepstone was also sent to the Transvaal to annex that state, in case the consent of the Volksraad or that of the majority of the inhabitants could be obtained. The Volksraad protested against the annexation. The President protested. Out of a possible 8,000 burghers 6,800 protested. But all in vain.

Bishop Colenso declared that: "The sly and underhand way in which the Transvaal has been annexed appears to be unworthy of the English name."

The Free State recorded its deepest regret at the Annexation.

Even Gladstone, in expressing his regret, admitted that England had in the Transvaal acted in such a way as to use the free subjects of a kingdom to oppress the free subjects of a Republic and to

relied on the fact that the Annexation was a *fait accompli*.

Delegates were sent to England to protest against the Annexation, but Lord Carnarvon told them that he would only be misleading them if he held out any hope of restitution. Gladstone afterwards endorsed this by saying that he could not advise the Queen to withdraw her Sovereignty from the Transvaal.

When it was represented that the Annexation was a deliberate breach of the Sand River Convention, Sir Bartle Frere replied, in 1879, that if they wished to go back to the Sand River Convention they might just as well go back to the Creation!

It is necessary here not to lose sight of the fact that the ground, which, according to the Keate award in 1870, had been declared to lie beyond the borders of the Republic, was now included by Shepstone as being part of the Transvaal.

There were, however, other matters which under Republican administration were branded as wrong, but which under English rule were perfectly right. In the Secoecoeni war under the Republic the British High Commissioner had protested against the use of the Swazies and Volunteers by the Republic in conducting the campaign.

Under British administration the war was carried on at first by regulars only, but when these were defeated by the Kaffirs an army of Swazies as well as Volunteers was collected. The number of the former can be gathered from the fact that 500 Swazies were killed. The atrocities committed by these Swazi allies of the English on the people of Secoecoeni's tribe were truly awful.

Bishop Colenso, who condemned this incident, said, with regard to the results of the Annexation of the Republic, that the Zululand difficulty, as well as that with Secoecoeni, was the direct consequence of the unfortunate Annexation of the Transvaal, which would not have happened if we had not taken possession of the country like a lot of freebooters, partly by "trickery," partly by "bullying." Elsewhere he said: "And in this way we annexed the Transvaal, and that act brought as its Nemesis the Zulu difficulty."

That the British Government had all along considered the Zulus as a means of annihilating the Transvaal when a favorable opportunity occurred is clear from a letter which the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, wrote to General Ponsonby, in which he says:

"That while the Boer Republic was a rival and semi-hostile power, it was a Natal weakness rather to pet the Zulus as one might a tame wolf who only devoured one's neighbors' sheep. We always remonstrated, but rather feebly, and now that both flocks belong to us we are rather embarrassed in stopping the wolf's ravages."

And again in a letter to Sir Robert Herbert:

"The Boers were aggressive, the English were not; and were well inclined to help the Zulus against the Boers. I have been shocked to find how very close to the wind the predecessors of the present Government here have sailed in supporting the Zulus against Boer aggression. Mr. John Dunn, still a salaried official of this Government, thinking himself bound to explain his own share in supplying rifles to the Zulus in consequence of the revelations

in a late trial of a Durban gun-runner, avows that he did so with the knowledge, if not the consent, and at the suggestion of (naming a high Colonial Official) in Natal. There can be no doubt that Natal sympathy was strongly with the Zulus as against the Boers, and, what is worse, is so still."

Under such circumstances did the Annexation take place. The English did not scruple to make use of Kaffir aid against the Boers, as at Boomplaats, and it was brought home in every possible way to the British Nation that a great wrong had been committed here; but even the High Commissioner, though he heard the words issue from our bleeding hearts, wished that he had brought some artillery in order to disperse us, and misrepresented us beyond measure.

Full of hope we said to ourselves if only the Queen of England and the English people knew that in the Transvaal a people were being oppressed they would never suffer it.

But we had now to admit that it was of no use appealing to England because there was no one to hear us. Trusting in the Almighty God of righteousness and justice, we armed ourselves for an apparently hopeless struggle in the firm conviction that whether we conquered or whether we died the sun of freedom in South Africa would arise out of the morning mists. With God's all-powerful aid we gained the victory, and for a time at least it seemed as if our liberty was secure.

At Bronkorst Spruit, at Laing's Nek, at Ingogo, and at Majuba, God gave us victory, although in each case the British troopers outnumbered us, and were more powerfully armed than ourselves.

After these victories had given new force to our arguments, the British Government, under the leadership of Gladstone, a man whom we shall never forget, decided to cancel the Annexation and to restore to us our violated rights.

CONVENTIONS OF 1881 AND 1884.

AN ordinary person would have thought that the only upright way of carrying a policy of restitution into effect would have been for the British Government to have returned to the provisions of the Sand River Convention. If the Annexation was wrong in itself—without taking the Boer victories into consideration—then it ought to have been abolished with all its consequences, and there ought to have been a *restitutio in integrum* of that Republic; that is to say, the Boers ought to have been placed in exactly the same position as they were in before the Annexation. But what happened? With a magnanimity which the English press and English orators are never tired of vaunting, they gave us back our country, but the violation of the Sand River Convention remained unredressed. Instead of a sovereign freedom, we obtained free internal administration, subject to the suzerain power of Her Majesty over the Republic. This occurred by virtue of the Convention of Pretoria, the preamble of which bestowed self-government on the Transvaal State with the express reservation of suzerainty. The articles of that Convention endeavored to establish a *modus vivendi* between such self-government and the aforesaid suzerainty. Under this bilateral arrangement the Republic was governed for three

years by two heterogeneous principles—that of representative self-government and that represented by the British agent. This system was naturally unworkable; it was also clear that the arrangement of 1881 was not to be considered as final.

The suzerainty was above all an absurdity which was not possible to reconcile with practical efficacy. So with the approval of the British Government a Deputation went to London in 1883, in order to get the status of the Republic altered and to substitute a new Convention for that of Pretoria. The Deputation proposed to return to the position as laid down by the Sand River Convention, and that was in fact the only upright and statesmanlike arrangement possible. But according to the evidence of one of the witnesses on the British side, the Rev. D. P. Faure, the Ministry suffered from a very unwholesome dread of parliament; so it would not agree to this, and submitted a counter-proposal which eventually was accepted by the Deputation, and the conditions of which are to-day of the greatest importance to us.

This Draft was constructed out of the Pretoria Convention with such alterations as were designed to make it acceptable to the Deputation. The preamble under which complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty, was granted to the Republic was deliberately erased by Lord Derby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, so that the suzerainty naturally lapsed when the Draft was eventually accepted. In order to make it perfectly clear that the status of the Republic was put upon another basis, the title "Transvaal State" was altered to that of the "South African Republic." All articles in the Pretoria Convention which gave the British Govern-



GENERAL VIEW OF PRETORIA.

ment any authority in the internal affairs of this Republic were done away with. As far as foreign affairs were concerned, a great and far-reaching change was made. It was stipulated in Article 2 of the Pretoria Convention that "Her Majesty reserves to herself, her heirs and successors (*a*), the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are hereinafter defined; (*b*), the right to move troops through the said State in time of war or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any Foreign State or Native tribe in South Africa; and (*c*), the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers, such intercourse to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad."

This was superseded by Article 4 of the Convention of London, which was to the following effect:

"The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or Nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any Native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

"Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain, or any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa."

The right of the British Government to exercise control over all our foreign relations and to conduct all our diplomatic negotiations through its own Agent was thus replaced by the far more slender right of approving or disapproving of our treaties and conventions *after they were completed*, and then only when it affected the interests of Great Britain or Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

It was this Article 4 which gave an appearance of truth (and an appearance only) to Lord Derby's declaration in the House of Lords that although he had omitted the term of suzerainty, the substance thereof remained. It would have been more correct to have said that owing to the lapse of suzerainty the South African Republic no longer fell under the head of a semi-suzerain State, but that it had become a free, independent, sovereign international State, the sovereignty of which was only limited by the restriction contained in Article 4 of the Convention. Sovereignty need not of necessity be absolute. Belgium is a sovereign international State, although it is bound to observe a condition of permanent neutrality. The South African Republic falls undoubtedly under this category of States, the sovereignty of which is limited in one or other defined direction. But the fact of its sovereignty is nevertheless irrefutable. It will be pointed out later how this position, which is undoubtedly the correct one, has been consistently upheld by the Government of the South African Republic, but it is necessary now to revert to the historical development.

CAPITALISTIC JINGOISM.

First Period.

IN 1886 gold was discovered in great quantities and in different parts of the South African Republic, and with that discovery our people entered upon a new phase of their history. The South African Republic was to develop within a few years from a condition of great poverty into a rich and prosperous State, a country calculated in every respect to awaken and inflame the greed of the Capitalistic speculator. Within a few years the South African Republic was ranked among the first gold-producing countries of the world. The bare veldt of hitherto was overspread with large townships inhabited by a speculative and bustling class brought together from all corners of the earth. The Boers, who had hitherto followed pastoral and hunting pursuits, were now called upon to fulfil one of the most difficult tasks in the world—namely, the management of a complicated administration and the government of a large digging population which had sprung up suddenly under the most extraordinary circumstances. And how have they acquitted themselves of the task? We quote the following from a brilliant pamphlet by Olive Schreiner, who possesses a deeper insight into the true condition of affairs in South Africa than has been vouchsafed to any other writer on the same subject:

“We put it to all generous and just spirits, whether of statesmen or thinkers, whether the little Republic does not deserve our sympathy, which wise minds

give to all who have to deal with new and complex problems, where the past experience of humanity has not marked out a path—and whether, if we touch the subject at all, it is not necessary that it should be in that large, impartial, truth-seeking spirit in which humanity demands we should approach all great social difficulties and questions?

“It is sometimes said that when one stands looking down from the edge of this hill at the great mining camp of Johannesburg stretching beneath, with its heaps of white sand and débris mountain high, its mining chimneys belching forth smoke, with its seventy thousand Kaffirs and its eighty thousand men and women, white or colored, of all nationalities, gathered here in the space of a few years on the spot where, fifteen years ago, the Boer’s son guided his sheep to the water, and the Boer’s wife sat alone at evening at the house door to watch the sunset, we are looking upon one of the most wonderful spectacles on earth. And it is wonderful; but as we look at it the thought always arises within us of something more wonderful yet—the marvellous manner in which a little nation of simple folk, living in peace in the land they loved, far from the rush of cities and the concourse of men, have risen to the difficulties of their condition; how they, without instruction in statecraft or traditionary rules of policy, have risen to face their great difficulties, and have sincerely endeavored to meet them in a large spirit, and have largely succeeded. Nothing but that curious and wonderful instinct for statecraft and the organization and arrangement of new social conditions which seem inherent as a gift of the blood to all those peoples who took their rise in the little

deltas on the northeast of the Continent of Europe where the English and Dutch peoples alike took their rise could have made it possible. We do not say that the Transvaal Republic has among its guides and rulers a Solon or a Lycurgus, but it has to-day among the men guiding its destiny, men of brave and earnest spirit, who are seeking manfully and profoundly to deal with the great problems before them in a wide spirit of humanity and justice. And we do again repeat that the strong sympathy of all earnest and thoughtful minds, not only in Africa, but in England, should be with them."

If one compares the gold fields of the Witwatersrand with those of other countries, it is certain that the former can claim to be the best governed mining area in the world. This is the almost unanimous verdict of people who have had a lengthy experience of the gold fields of California, Australia and Klondike.

As far as South Africa is concerned, it is only necessary to instance the diamond fields of Griqualand West when they were directly administered by the British Government. They then afforded a continual spectacle of rebellion, rioting and indescribable uncertainty of and danger to life and property.

The evidence of eye witnesses can be quoted as to the chaos which characterized the condition of the diamond fields when under British rule—a condition which differs from that of the Witwatersrand gold fields as night from day. Reference will be made later on to the administration of the gold fields of the South African Republic. For the present it is necessary to glance at certain forces which had been developed on the diamond fields of the Cape Colony

and which have introduced a new factor of overwhelming importance into the South African situation.

The development of British policy in South Africa had hitherto been influenced at different times, and in a greater or less degree by the spirit of Jingoism and by that zeal for Annexation which is so characteristic of the trading instincts of the race. It was, however, a policy that had been conducted in other respects on continuous lines, and it might be justified by the argument that it was necessary in the interests of the Empire. But Capitalism was the new factor which was about to play such an important rôle in the history of South Africa. The natural differences in men find their highest expression in the varieties of influence which one man exercises over another; this influence can either be of a religious, moral, political, or purely material nature. Material influence generally takes the form of money, or the financial nexus, as an English writer has termed it. An unusual combination of this form of influence leads to Capitalism just as an unusual combination of political influence leads to tyranny, and an unusual combination of religious influence to hierarchical despotism. Capitalism is the modern peril which threatens to become as dangerous to mankind as the political tyranny of the old Eastern world and the religious despotism of the Middle Ages were in their respective eras.

In a part of the world so rich in minerals of all descriptions as the Transvaal, it is natural that Capitalism should play a considerable rôle. Unfortunately in South Africa it has from the very first attempted to go far beyond its legitimate scope; it

has endeavored to gain political power and to make all other forms of government and influence subservient to its own ends. The measure of its success can be clearly gauged by the fact that all South Africa is standing to-day on the brink of a great precipice, and may be hurled into the abyss before the ink on these pages is dry.

The spirit of Capitalism found its incarnation in Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who was able to amalgamate the pressing and conflicting interests of the Diamond Fields into the one great corporation of which he is the head.

Although he probably had no exceptional aptitude for politics, he was irresistibly drawn toward them by the stress of his interests. By means of his financial influence, together with a double allowance of elasticity of conscience, he succeeded so far as to become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and was powerfully and solidly supported by the Afrikaner party. The Afrikanders believed in him because they were really and deeply imbued with the necessity of the co-operation and fusion of the two white races in South Africa, and he, as a loyal Englishman, but fully possessing the confidence of Colonial Afrikanerdom, seemed to them just the very person to realize their ideal.

To a careful observer the alliance between Afrikanerdom and Capitalism was bound to lead to a rupture sooner or later. Deeply rooted and pure national sentiment as well as burning conviction form the basis of Afrikaner policy, and it was obvious that in the long run it would be discovered that this policy could never be made subservient to purely financial interests.

But there was another factor. There was that debased form of patriotism called Jingoism. It is a form of party politics without solid convictions or real beliefs, which puffs itself out with big words and with the froth of high-sounding ideas and principles. It is a policy, nevertheless, which appeals most strongly to the instincts of self-interest and to the illegal appropriation of other people's property. It revels in the lust of boasting, so deeply engraved in human nature. In a word, it is a policy which is in direct opposition to the true spirit of religion, to the altruistic ideals of humanity, and to that sentiment of humility and moderation which is the natural basis of all morality.

Here, indeed, were the elements of an enduring alliance—an alliance between Capitalism, with its great material influence, but barren of any one single exalted idea or principle on the one hand, and Jingoism, sterile, empty, soulless, but with a rich stock-in-trade of bombastic ideas and principles, prompted by the most selfish aspirations, on the other hand.

The one was eminently calculated to form the complement of the other, thus creating a natural alliance which is rapidly becoming a menace all the world over to the best and most enduring interests of humanity.

This capitalistic Jingoism is the tree from which it is the lot of our unfortunate South Africa to gather such bitter fruit to-day.

Mr. Rhodes, with that treacherous duplicity which is an enduring characteristic of British policy in South Africa, co-operated publicly, and in the closest relationship, with the Colonial Afrikaners, while he

was secretly fomenting a conspiracy with Jingoism against the Cape Afrikaners and the South African Republics. He already had the Afrikaners in the Cape Colony under his sway; his aim was now to gain the same influence in the South African Republic, with its rich gold mines—not so much, perhaps, for himself personally as for Capitalism, with which his interests were so closely identified. In case of success he would obtain his personal aim, and Capitalism would be absolutely despotic in South Africa. With an eye to this end he, with other capitalists, began in 1892 to foment a political agitation in Johannesburg against the Republic. In a place like Johannesburg, where drink is consumed in great quantities, and where the high altitude and the stress of business all tend to keep people's spirits in a constant state of excitability, it was easy enough, with the aid of money, to bring about a state of political ferment in a very short time, especially as just that measure of grievances existed to give a color of truth to the imaginary ones.

Under these conditions the National Union movement originated in 1892. Its adherents were entirely composed of the creatures and parasites of the capitalists, with a few honest fools and enthusiasts who naturally did not think deeply enough to discern the aim and the trend of this hypocritical movement.

The capitalists at this time certainly kept well in the background, in order that the movement might have the appearance of being a popular one. The capitalists of Johannesburg were, however, a theatrical lot, and the desire to play a prominent rôle was too intense to be suppressed for any length of time,

so that after the lapse of a couple of years they naturally took the leading part in the *opera bouffe* agitation which followed.

They began, by means of the lowest and most repulsive methods, to undermine the Boer policy in order to gain the mastery of the mining legislation and administration. They had persuaded themselves and the rest of the world that the Boers were as a body corrupt and tainted, so they armed themselves with the power of money in order to overthrow them.

Lionel Phillips wrote in this spirit on the 16th June, 1894, to Beit in London:

"I may here say that, as you, of course, know, I have no desire for political rights, and believe as a whole that the community is not ambitious in this respect. The bewaarplaatsen question will, I think, be settled in our favor, but at a cost of about £25,000. It is proposed to spend a good deal of money in order to secure a better Raad, but it must be remembered that the spending of money on elections has, by recent legislation, been made a criminal offence, and the matter will have to be carefully handled."

On the 15th July, 1894, he wrote again to the same correspondent: "Our trump card is a fund of £10—15,000 to improve the Raad. Unfortunately the companies have no secret service fund. I must divine a way. We don't want to shell out ourselves."

Here we catch a glimpse behind the scenes, and we observe how the Capitalists in 1894 had already endeavored to lower and vitiate our public life by methods which did not even recoil before the criminal law of the land, to say nothing of elementary morality.

And did they succeed? Were the people and the Volksraad as corrupt as they thought and as they still endeavor to make the world believe? Their failure is the best and most complete answer to this calumny.

If corruption on a large scale, however, failed to ensure the triumph of Capitalism over the community, the other trump card of Jingoism still remained. The pulse of the High Commissioner was felt by Mr. Lionel Phillips, and what was the answer of Sir Henry Loch, Her Majesty's representative in South Africa? We extract from the same secret letter book from which we have already quoted the following letter, dated 1st July, addressed to Wernher, a member of the influential firm of Wernher, Beit & Co. :

"Sir Henry Loch (with whom I had two long private interviews alone) asked me some very pointed questions, such as what arms we had in Johannesburg, whether the population could hold the place for six days until help could arrive, etc., etc., and stated plainly that if there had been three thousand rifles and ammunition here he would certainly have come over."

And so on in the same strain. Sir Henry Loch endorsed the truth of these statements two years later by boasting openly in the House of Lords about his plans for organizing a raid into the South African Republic.

And all this happened while he (Sir Henry Loch) was the guest of our Government and engaged in friendly negotiations about the interests of British subjects. To what a depth had British policy in South Africa already degenerated. Within two years, however, a deeper abyss was to open.

The secret conspiracy of the Capitalists and Jingoists to overthrow the South African Republic began now to gain ground with great rapidity, for just at this critical period Mr. Chamberlain became Secretary of State for the Colonies. In the secret correspondence of the conspirators reference is continually made to the Colonial Office in a manner which, taken in connection with later revelations and with a successful suppression of the truth, has deepened the impression over the whole world that the Colonial Office was privy to, if not an accomplice in, the villainous attack on the South African Republic.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the Jameson Raid; the world has not yet forgotten how the Administrators of a British province, carrying out a conspiracy headed by the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, attacked the South African Republic with an armed band in order to assist the Capitalist revolution of Johannesburg in overthrowing the Boer Government; how this raid and this revolution were upset by the vigilance of the Boers; how Jameson and his filibusters were handed over to England to stand their trial—although the Boers had the power and the right to shoot them down as robbers; how the whole gang of Johannesburg Capitalists pleaded guilty to treason and sedition; how, instead of confiscating all their property and thus dealing a death blow to Capitalistic influence in South Africa, the Government dealt most leniently with them (an act of magnanimity which was rewarded by their aiding and abetting a still more dangerous agitation three years later).

Nor has the world forgotten how, at the urgent instance of the Afrikaner party in the Cape Colony,

an investigation into the causes of the conflict was held in Westminster; how that investigation degenerated into a low attack upon the Government of the sorely maligned and deeply injured South African Republic, and how at the last moment when the truth was on the point of being revealed and the conspiracy traced to its fountain head in the British Cabinet, the Commission decided all of a sudden not to make certain compromising documents public.

Here we see to what a depth the old great traditions of British Constitutionalism had sunk under the influence of the ever-increasing and all-absorbing lust of gold, and in the hands of a sharp-witted wholesale dealer, who, like Cleon of old, has constituted himself a statesman. Treachery and violence not having been able to attain their objects, "Constitutional means" were to be invoked (as Mr. Rhodes openly boasted before the aforesaid Commission), so as to make Capitalistic Jingoism master of the situation in South Africa.

CAPITALISTIC JINGOISM.

Second Period.

THE foregoing sketch has shown how deeply our people felt and resented the wrong that was done to them. It was to be expected that such a treacherous attack on the Republics, emanating from their own leader, would awaken the Afrikanders even in the remotest districts, and would bring fresh energy into the arena of politics. To give an instance of the measure of the feeling which had been quickened by the Raid, a short extract is given below from an article published in the organ of the Afrikander

party, *Our Land*, a few months after the Raid, an article which undoubtedly expressed the feeling of Afrikananders:

"Has not Providence overruled and guided the painful course of events in South Africa since the beginning of this year (1896)? Who can doubt it?

"The stab which was intended to paralyze Afrikanerdom once and for all in the Republics has sent an electric thrill direct to the national heart. Afrikanerdom has awakened to a sense of earnestness and consciousness which we have not observed since the heroic war for Liberty in 1881. From the Limpopo as far as Cape Town the Second Majuba has given birth to a new inspiration and a new movement among our people in South Africa. A new feeling has rushed in huge billows over South Africa. The flaccid and cowardly Imperialism, that had already begun to dilute and weaken our national blood, gradually turned aside before the new current which permeated our people. Many who, tired of the slow development of the national idea, had resigned themselves to Imperialism, now paused and asked themselves what Imperialism had produced in South Africa? Bitterness and race hatred, it is true! Since the days of Sir Harry Smith and Theophilus Shepstone and Bartle Frere to the days of Leander Jameson and Cecil Rhodes, Imperialism in South Africa has gone hand in hand with bloodshed and fraud. However wholesome the effects of Imperialism may be elsewhere, its continual tendency in this country during all these years has been nothing else but an attempt to force our national life and national character into foreign grooves; and to seal this pressure with blood and tears. . . . This is truly a crit-

ical moment in the existence of Afrikanerdom all over South Africa. Now or never! Now or never the foundation of a wide-embracing nationalism must be laid. The iron is red hot, and the time for forging is at hand. . . .

" . . . The partition wall has disappeared. Let us stand manfully by one another. The danger has not yet disappeared; on the contrary, never has the necessity for a policy of a Colonial and Republican Union been greater; now the psychological moment has arrived; now our people have awakened all over South Africa; a new glow illuminates our hearts; let us now lay the foundation stone of a real United South Africa on the soil of a pure and *all-comprehensive national sentiment*."

Such language caused the Jingoese to shudder—not because it was disloyal, because that it certainly was *not*, but because it proved that the Jameson Raid had suddenly awakened the Afrikaners, and that owing to this defeat of the Jingoese a vista of further and greater defeats widened out in the future. The Colonial Afrikaners would certainly have to be reckoned with in case an Annexation policy were followed with regard to the Republics.

For some time the Jingoese cherished the hope that they would gain the majority in the Cape Parliament under an amended Redistribution Act. The General Election of 1898 took place, with the result that the Afrikaner party obtained a small majority, and later, under a Redistribution Act, forced upon them by the Jingoese, the majority of the former was considerably increased.

Instead of honestly admitting that the Afrikaner victory was the natural result of the Jameson Raid,

the Jingoës began, not only in South Africa, but also in England, to shout that the rule and supremacy of England in South Africa was menaced.

They contended that South Africa would be lost to England unless energetic intervention took place without delay, and that this menace to English rule was due to the Republican propaganda which the South African Republic had set in motion. That as long as the South African Republic refused to humiliate itself before British authority, but, on the contrary, kept its youthful head on high with national pride, other parts of South Africa would be inclined to follow its example, and there would thus be no certainty for British supremacy in this quarter of the globe. The South African Republic would have to be humiliated and to be crushed into the dust; the Afrikaners in other parts of South Africa would then abandon their alleged hope of a more extensive Republican South Africa.

But how was this humiliation to be brought about, and how, above all, was it to be brought about by those "Constitutional means," which, since the failure of the conspiracy, had become a *sine quâ non*?

The new Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa, who had enjoyed the distinction of a brilliant university career, who had learned humility and moderation at the feet of Mr. W. T. Stead, and who had learned by his experience with the fellaheen in Egypt how to govern the descendants of the Huguenots and the "Beggars of the Sea," would know very well how to evolve "Constitutional means" in order to humiliate the South African Republic and to crush it into the dust.

There was at any rate the burning question of suzerainty, which the South African Republic had unconsciously and innocently raised in the following way:

After the Jameson Raid the Volksraad had passed certain laws with a view of removing some of the causes of that movement, as, for example, the law by which dangerous individuals could be expelled from the state, and the law by which paupers and people suffering from contagious diseases could be prevented from entering the Republic. These laws were declared to be in conflict with Article XIV of the London Convention. Violations of Article IV were also said to have taken place in regard to certain extradition and other treaties which had been concluded between the South African Republic and Foreign Powers. On the 7th May, 1897, the Government of the South African Republic despatched a very important reply to these accusations, in which, after fully stating the reasons why the Government differed from Her Majesty's Government, an appeal was made for arbitration as being the most suitable method of settling the dispute.

This appeal was couched in the following language:

"While it respects the opinion of Her British Majesty's Government, it takes the liberty, with full confidence in the correctness of its own views, to propose to Her British Majesty's Government the principle of arbitration, with which the honorable the First Volksraad agreed, in the hope that it will be taken in the conciliatory spirit in which it is made. It considers that it has every reason for this proposal, the more so because the principle of arbi-

tration is already laid down in that Convention in the only case in which, according to its opinion at the time, a difference could be foreseen—to wit, with regard to Article I; because it has already been proposed by Her British Majesty's Government and accepted by this Government with regard to the difference in respect of Article XIV of the Convention arising in the matter of the so-called Coolie question, which was settled by arbitration; because the Right Honorable the Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, himself, in his letter of the 4th September, 1895, to His Excellency the High Commissioner at Cape Town, favors this principle in the same question, where he says: 'After 1886, as time went on, the manner in which the law was interpreted and was worked, or was proposed to be worked, gave rise to complaints on the part of the British Government, and as it seemed impossible to come to an agreement by means of correspondence, the Marquis of Ripon took what is the approved course in such cases, of proposing to the South African Republic that the dispute should be referred to arbitration. This was agreed to . . . ;' because the principle of arbitration in matters such as this appears to the Government to be the most impartial, just, and most satisfactory way out of the existing difficulty, and, lastly, because one of the parties to a Convention, according to all principles of reasonableness, cannot expect that his interpretation will be respected by the other party as the only valid and correct one. And although this Government is firmly convinced that a just and impartial decision might be obtained even better in South Africa than anywhere else, it wishes, in view of the conflicting ele-

ments, interests and aspirations which are now apparent in South Africa, and in order to avoid even the appearance that it would be able or desire to exercise influence in order to obtain a decision favorable to it, to propose that the President of the Swiss Bondstate who may be reckoned upon as standing altogether outside the question, and to feel sympathy or antipathy neither for the one party nor for the other, be requested to point out a competent jurist, as has already often been done in respect of international disputes. The Government would have no objection that the arbitration be subject to a limitation of time, and gives the assurance now already that it will willingly subject itself to any decision if such should, contrary to its expectation, be given against it. The Government repeats the well-meant wish that this proposal may find favor with Her British Majesty's Government; and inasmuch as the allegations of breaches of the Convention find entrance now even in South Africa, and bring and keep the feelings more and more in a state of suspense, this Government will be pleased if it can learn the decision of Her British Majesty's Government as soon as possible."

To this the British Government replied that according to the Convention of 1884, taken in conjunction with the preamble of the Convention of 1881, the South African Republic was under the suzerainty of Her Majesty, and that it was incompatible with the subordinate position of the South African Republic to submit to arbitration any matters in dispute as to the construction of the Convention between it and the suzerain Power.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding as to this

1852, so that he would now, just as Shepstone in 1877, have to try and disconcert the Republic by a display of force and inflexible determination, so as not to be deprived of these eminently "constitutional means."

His arguments in this despatch, that both the suzerainty of Her Majesty and the right of the South African Republic to self-government were dependent upon the preamble of the Pretoria Convention, and that, if the preamble were null and void, not only would the suzerainty but also the right to self-government disappear, were clearly designed to intimidate the South African Republic; but in other respects the argument was perfectly correct. Accordingly the Government of the South African Republic replied that it did not base its claim to self-government on the preamble of the Convention of 1881, nor on the Convention of 1884 (for no mention is made of self-government in that document), but simply on the ground of its being a sovereign international State.

In other words, it contended that the Convention of London implied that the South African Republic was a sovereign international State, and that it was, therefore, superfluous in that Convention to specify or define its rights. Into this answer, which is not only juridically and historically correct, but which rests on the basis of common sense, the astute High Commissioner was able to read a menace to Her Majesty's Government, although the Government of the Republic distinctly stated in that reply that it adhered to the Convention of London, an assurance which it had already made hundreds of times.

This is the whole history of the suzerainty dispute

between the two Governments. The South African Republic had asked for arbitration on certain questions, and England, with Mr. Chamberlain as spokesman, had refused, because a suzerain power could not be expected to settle disputes with its vassal by means of arbitration. So that, according to the new principles of International Law, based on the "screw" ethics of Birmingham, it was to be judge and jury in its own disputes with other people.

The position taken up by our Government in this remarkable controversy is substantiated by the actions of Lord Derby during the negotiations about the Conventions, as well as by the following telegram which he sent to the High Commissioner for communication to the two Republics:

"HIGH COMMISSIONER CAPE TOWN.

"*To* BRITISH RESIDENT PRETORIA.

"Please inform Transvaal Government that I have received the following from the Secretary of State: 27th February.—Convention signed to-day. New southwestern boundary as proposed, following trade road. British Protectorate country outside Transvaal established with delegates' consent. They promise to appoint Border Commissioner inside Transvaal, co-operate with ours outside; Mackenzie—British Resident. Debt reduced to quarter million. Same complete internal independence in Transvaal as in Orange Free State. Conduct and control diplomatic intercourse Foreign Governments conceded. Queen's final approval treaties reserved. Delegates appear well satisfied and cordial feeling two governments. You may make the above known."

This contention is also substantiated by the ex-

press declarations of Lord Rosmead and the Rev. D. P. Faure to the effect that it was clearly understood at the time the London Convention was concluded that the suzerainty was abolished. It is unnecessary to add anything about the evidence of the members of the Transvaal deputation. The suzerainty has thus not the slightest shadow of existence; and yet, as will be proved, Mr. Chamberlain is prepared to go to war with the South African Republic over this question, a war which will, according to his intentions, result in annexation.

While the two Governments were occupied with this question the Capitalists were not idle. They were busy fanning the flame in another direction. It was not only a fact that Rhodesia was an unexpected failure, but it had proved far richer in native wars than in payable gold mines. The Capitalist groups possessing the greatest interests in the Witwatersrand gold mines were also the most deeply interested in Rhodesia, and it naturally occurred to them that their Transvaal mines ought also to bear the burden of their unprofitable investments in Rhodesia—an adjustment which would, however, necessitate the amalgamation of the two countries, especially when the interests of the shareholders were considered.

In order to attain this object a continual agitation was kept up at Johannesburg, so that English shareholders living far away should be prepared for the day when the annexation would take place on constitutional lines.

The argument which was calculated to impress these European shareholders was that the administration of the South African Republic had created a



DR. W. J. LEYDS,
Diplomatic Representative of the South African Republic in Europe.

situation which was most prejudicial to the financial interests of the mining industry. Viewed from this standpoint the Uitlander grievances were an inexhaustibly rich and payable mine.

This agitation first of all emanated directly from the Capitalists, and had assumed such proportions in 1897 that the Government decided to appoint a Commission of officials and mining magnates in order to inquire searchingly into the alleged financial grievances. As far as the Government was concerned, the chief findings of the Commission were:

(1) That the price of dynamite (85 shillings per case of fifty pounds) was too high under the existing concession, and that a diminution in price was desirable either by cancellation of the concession, or by testing the legality of the concession in the High Court.

(2) That the tariffs of the Netherlands Railway Company for the carriage of coal and other articles were too high, and that it was necessary to expropriate the railway.

(3) That the import duties on necessities of life were too high, and that the cost of living in Johannesburg for workmen was too high.

(4) That stringent measures ought to be adopted in order to prevent gold thefts, and that the law for the total prohibition of drink to native laborers ought to be more strictly enforced, and that there ought to be a more stringent application of the Pass Law (under which the traffic of the native laborers was regulated).

(5) With the object of carrying out the measures specified in Section 4, the Commission recommended that an Advisory Board should be nominated for the

Witwatersrand gold fields for the purpose of advising the Government as to the enforcement of the said regulations.

To what extent was effect given to these recommendations?

As far as dynamite is concerned, it appeared that there was no chance of contesting the concession in the law courts with any success. Nor did the Volksraad or the Government feel justified in cancelling, without the consent of the owners, a contract which had been solemnly entered into and upon which enormous sums of money had been expended. The mining industry was naturally eager for cancellation, even without adequate compensation; but the public were not at that time aware of a fact which was made public some months later—namely, that the De Beers Corporation intended to erect a dynamite manufactory, and that this agitation of the Capitalists was intended to obtain for themselves the control of this great source of income. People, however, knew that the Messrs. Chamberlain were interested in the English ammunition and dynamite house of Kynoch, but they hesitate to assume that the Colonial Secretary was actuated in his Transvaal policy by considerations of private financial interest.

The Government and Volksraad of the South African Republic adopted the wiser plan of lowering the price of dynamite to such an extent as to make it about equal to the local European price plus a protective tariff of 20 shillings per case.

It may here be remarked that Mr. Chamberlain, knowing how unpopular the dynamite concession was in the South African Republic, intimated to the Government of the South African Republic, in a

very threatening manner, that the concession was in conflict with the London Convention.

The answer of the Government to this communication was so crushing that Mr. Chamberlain did not again return to the subject. In this he was, no doubt, also actuated by the fact that the most renowned English and European jurists had advised that the concession was in no sense a breach of the Convention. This, however, only became known later, and it is merely referred to now so as to show that no stone was left unturned in order to find a means of humiliating the South African Republic.

With regard to the Netherlands South African Railway Company it would appear that the Capitalists have altered their opinion, and now think that the administration of the Company is as good as can reasonably be expected, and that expropriation is now unnecessary. Perhaps from their point of view, it would be better to buy up the shares of the Company, and thus become themselves masters, instead of the Government, of this source of income.

Respecting the railway tariff, it is fair to assume that the cause of dissatisfaction has disappeared, for no complaints are now heard since the tariff was lowered in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission.

This change in the tariff, together with the abolition of duties on nearly all necessities of life, have made a difference of about £700,000 in the income of the State during the last year. It will be admitted that this is an enormous item in comparison with the total income of the South African Republic. The above tends to show how anxious the Government of the South African Republic has been to remove

all grievances as soon as it was proved that they actually existed.

As regards the administration of the Liquor Law, the Pass Law, and the Law dealing with Gold thefts, neither the Government nor the Volksraad felt at liberty to adopt the recommendations as to constituting an Advisory Board on the Witwatersrand. They decided to go deeper to the roots of the evil, and so altered the administration of the laws that the evidences of dissatisfaction have disappeared. Indeed, no one ever hears of gold thefts now, and the representative bodies of the mining industry have repeatedly expressed their satisfaction with the administration of the Pass Law, and especially with that of the Liquor Law.

In this very Liquor Law we have a test of a good administration. From the very nature of the drink question it is one of the most difficult laws that a Government can be called upon to administer, and the measure of success which has attended the efforts of the Government and its officials proves conclusively that the charges of incompetency so frequently brought against the Government of the South African Republic were devoid of truth and were only intended to slander and to injure the Republic. A combined meeting of the Chamber of Mines, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Association of Mine Managers—the three strongest and most representative bodies on the Witwatersrand gold fields—passed the following resolutions, which speak for themselves:

"1. This combined meeting, representing the Chamber of Mines, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Mine Managers' Association, desires to express

once more its decided approval of the present Liquor Law, and is of opinion that prohibition is not only beneficial to the natives in their own interest, but is absolutely necessary for the mining industry, with a view of maintaining the efficiency of labor.

"2. This meeting wishes to express its appreciation of the efforts made to suppress the illicit liquor trade by the Detective Department of this Republic since it has been placed under the administration of the State Attorney, and is of opinion that the success which has crowned these efforts fully disproves the contention that the Liquor Law is impracticable."

The first resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the second unanimously.

Compare this declaration of the representatives of the mining and commercial interests of the Witwatersrand with the allegation repeated by Mr. Chamberlain in his great "grievance" despatch of the 15th May, 1899—that the Liquor Law had never been strictly enforced, but that this law was simply evaded, and that the natives at the mines were supplied with drink in large quantities.

When Mr. Chamberlain wrote these words, they were absolutely untrue, and, like all his grievances, are of an imaginary character.

The results have clearly shown that the Government was quite correct in its conclusion that it was better to alter the administration of the laws complained of than to adopt a principle (the Advisory Board), the consequences and eventual outcome of which no one was able to foresee.

The agitation in connection with the report of the Industrial Commission was followed by a great calm.

If it had not been that the handling of the Swazi difficulty by the British Government gave color to suspicion, one might have thought that there was no cloud upon the horizon. To a superficial observer the two Governments seemed to be on the best and most friendly footing, and some of us actually began to think that the era of the fraternal co-operation of the two races in South Africa had actually dawned, and that the cursed Raid and its harvest of race hatred and division would be forgotten. Certain circumstances, however, indicated clearly that the enemy was occupied in a supreme effort to cause matters to culminate in a crisis.

The South African League, a political organization which sprang up out of and owed its origin to the race hatred which the Jameson Raid had called into being, and at the head of which Mr. Rhodes himself stands (a fact which places Capitalistic influence in a very clear light), began towards the latter part of last year to agitate against the Government in the most unheard-of way.

The individuals who stood at the head of this institution in Johannesburg (the chairman was a prize-fighter, and the secretary had formerly been a Socialistic demagogue in London) were such that very little attention was paid to the League. It was, however, soon clearly shown that not only was the movement strongly assisted by the Capitalists, and strongly supported all along the mines, but that there was a close relationship in a mysterious way with Cape Town and London. The events of the last few months have brought this out very clearly. Meetings were arranged, memorials to Her Majesty about grievances were drawn up, and an active propaganda

was preached in the press; this all proved in a convincing way that a carefully planned campaign had been organized against the Republic.

As the Government of the South African Republic has set forth the trend of the agitation, as well as the connection of the British Government with it, in an official despatch, it is desirable to quote the language itself:

"But this Government wishes to go further. Even in regard to those Uitlanders who are British subjects it is a small minority which, under the pretext of imaginary grievances, promotes a secret propaganda of race hatred, and uses the Republic as a basis for fomenting a revolutionary movement against this Government. Ministers of Her Majesty have so trenchantly expressed the truth about this minority that this Government wishes to quote the very words of these Ministers, with the object of bringing the actual truth to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, as well as to that of the whole world, and not for the purpose of making groundless accusations.

"The following words are those of the Ministers of the Cape Colony, who are well acquainted with local conditions and fully qualified to arrive at a conclusion:

"In the opinion of Ministers the persistent action, both beyond and within this Colony, of the political body styling itself the South African League in endeavoring to foment and excite, not to smooth and allay, ill-will between the two principal European races inhabiting South Africa, is well illustrated by these resolutions, the exaggerated and aggravated

terms of which disclose the spirit which informs and inspires them.

"His Excellency's Ministers are one in their earnest desire to do all in their power to aid and further a policy of peaceful progress throughout South Africa, and they cannot but regard it as an unwise propagandism, hostile to the true interests of the Empire, including this Colony as an integral part, that every possible occasion should be seized by the League and its promoters for an attempt to magnify into greater events minor incidents, when occurring in the South African Republic, with a prospect thereby of making racial antagonism more acute, or of rendering less smooth the relations between Her Majesty's Government or the Government of this Colony and that Republic.

"Race hatred is, however, not so intense in South Africa as to enable a body with this propaganda, aiming at revolutionary objects, to obtain much influence in this part of the world; and one continually asks oneself the question, "How is it that a body, so insignificant both in regard to its principles and its membership, enjoys such a large measure of influence?" The answer is that this body depends upon the protection and the support of Her Majesty's Government in England, and that both its members and its organs in the press openly boast of the influence they exert over the policy of Her Majesty's Government. This Government would ignore such assertions, but when it finds that the ideas and the shibboleths of the South African League are continually echoed in the speeches of members of Her Majesty's Government, when it finds that blue books are compiled chiefly from documents pre-

pared by officials of the South African League, as well as from reports and leading articles containing "malignant lies" taken from the press organs of that organization, thereby receiving an official character, then this Government can well understand why so many of Her Majesty's right-minded subjects in this part of the world have obtained the impression that the policy advocated by the South African League is supported by Her Majesty's Government, and is thus calculated to contribute to the welfare and blessing of the British Empire.

"If this mistaken impression could be removed and if it could be announced as a fact that the South African League, as far as its actions in the South African Republic are concerned, is only an organization having as its object the fomentation of strife and disorder and the destruction of the independence of the country, then it would very soon lose its influence and the strained relations existing between the two Governments would quickly disappear. The Afrikaner population of this country would not then be under the apprehension that the interests of the British Empire *imperatively demand* that the Republic should be done away with and its people be either *enslaved or exterminated*. Both sections of the white inhabitants of South Africa would then return to the fraternal co-operation and fusion which was beginning to manifest itself when the treacherous conspiracy at the end of 1895 awakened the passions on both sides.'"

As a result of the continual agitation of the South African League, three occurrences were selected and elevated by Mr. Chamberlain into culminating in-

stances of the Uitlander grievances. To give the world a clear insight into the nature of the grievances in general, extracts are given from the official accounts of the British and from the Republican account of these occurrences. There were three—the “Lombard affair,” with reference to the maltreatment of colored British subjects at Johannesburg; the “Edgar case,” in connection with the shooting of an English subject by a police official; and the “Amphitheatre occurrence,” in regard to a disorderly meeting of the South African League.

With regard to the “Lombard incident” Mr. Chamberlain says:

“As an instance of such arbitrary action the recent maltreatment of colored British subjects by Field Cornet Lombard may be cited. This official entered the houses of various colored persons without a warrant at night, dragged them from their beds, and arrested them for being without a pass. The persons so arrested were treated with much cruelty, and it is even alleged that one woman was prematurely confined, and a child subsequently died from the consequences of the fright and exposure. Men were beaten and kicked by the orders of the Field Cornet, who appears to have exercised his authority with the most cowardly brutality. The Government of the Republic, being pressed to take action, suspended the Field Cornet, and an inquiry was held, at which he and the police denied most of the allegations of violence, but the other facts were not disputed, and no independent evidence was called for the defence. The Government have since reinstated Lombard.

"Unfortunately this case is by no means unparalleled. Other British subjects, including several from St. Helena and Mauritius, have been arbitrarily arrested, and some of them have been fined, without having been heard in their own defence, under a law which does not even profess to have any application to persons from those colonies.

"However long-suffering Her Majesty's Government may be in their anxious desire to remain on friendly terms with the South African Republic, it must be evident that a continuance of incidents of this kind, followed by no redress, may well become intolerable."

The answer of the Government of the South African Republic was as follows:

"With reference to the Lombard case, this Government wishes to point out that no complaint was lodged with any official in this Republic for a full month after the ill-treatment of Cape colored people was alleged to have taken place, and that neither the Government nor the public was aware that anything had taken place. The whole case was so insignificant that some of the people who were alleged to have been ill-treated declared, under oath, at a later period before a court of investigation, that they would never have made any complaint on their own initiative. What happened, however?

"About a month after the occurrence the South African League came to hear of it, some of its officials sent round to collect evidence from the parties who were alleged to have been ill-treated, and some sworn declarations were obtained by the help of Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Johannesburg (between

whom and this League a continual and conspicuous co-operation has existed). Even then no charge was lodged against the implicated officials with the judicial authorities of the country, but the case was put in the hands of the Acting British Agent at Pretoria.

"When the allegations were brought under the notice of this Government, they at once appointed a commission of inquiry, consisting of three members—namely: Landdrost Van der Berg, of Johannesburg; Mr. Andries Stockenstrom, barrister-at-law, of the Middle Temple, head of the Criminal Section of the State Attorney's Department, and Mr. Van der Merwe, Mining Commissioner, of Johannesburg; gentlemen against whose ability and impartiality the Uitlander population of the Republic have never harbored the slightest suspicion, and with whose appointment the Acting British Agent also expressed his entire satisfaction. The instructions given to those officials were to thoroughly investigate the whole case and to report the result to the Government; and they fulfilled these instructions by sitting for days at a time, carefully hearing and sifting the evidence of both sides. Every right-minded person readily acknowledges that far greater weight ought to be attached to the finding of this Commission than to the declarations of the complainants, who contradicted one another in nearly every particular, and who caused the whole inquiry to degenerate into a farce.

"According to the report, nothing was proved as to the so-called ill-treatment; the special instances of alleged ill-treatment turned out to be purely imaginary; but it was clearly proved and found that the complainants had acted contrary to law, and the



BOER PICKETS READING THE BIBLE.

Commission only expressed disapproval of the fact that the arrests and the investigation had taken place at night and without a proper warrant. It fills this Government with all the greater regret to observe that Her Majesty's Government bases its charges on *ex parte*, groundless, and, in many respects, false declarations of complainants who have been set in motion by political hatred, and that it silently ignores the report of the Commission."

Mr. Chamberlain represented the Edgar case in the following way:

"But perhaps the most striking recent instance of arbitrary action by officials, and of the support of such action by the Courts, is the well-known Edgar case. The effect of the verdict of the jury, warmly indorsed by the Judge, is that four policemen breaking into a man's house at night without a warrant, on the mere statement of one person, which subsequently turned out to be untrue, that the man had committed a crime, are justified in killing him there and then, because, according to their own account, he hits one of them with a stick. If this is justification, then any form of resistance to the police is justification for the immediate killing of the person resisting, who may be perfectly innocent of any offence. This would be an alarming doctrine anywhere. It is peculiarly alarming when applied to a city like Johannesburg, where a strong force of police armed with revolvers have to deal with a large alien unarmed population, whose language in many cases they do not understand. The emphatic affirmation of such a doctrine by Judge and jury in the Edward

case cannot but increase the general feeling of insecurity among the Uitlander population and the sense of injustice under which they labor. It may be pointed out that the allegation that Edgar assaulted the police was emphatically denied by his wife and others, and that the trial was conducted in a way that would be considered quite irregular in this country, the witnesses for the defence being called by the prosecution, and thereby escaping cross-examination."

The answer of the Government of the South African Republic was:

"The Edgar case is referred to by your Government as the most striking recent instance of arbitrary action by officials, and of the support of such action by the Courts, and this case is quoted as a conclusive test of the alleged judicial maladministration of this Republic; it will, therefore, be of interest to pause for a moment and consider it. What are the true facts?

"A certain Foster, 'an Englishman,' was assaulted and felled to the ground, without any lawful cause, by a man named Edgar during the night of the 18th December, 1898; he lay on the ground as if dead, and ultimately died in the hospital. Edgar escaped to his room, and some police came on the scene, attracted by the screams of the bystanders. Among the police was one named Jones. When they saw the man who had been assaulted lying as if dead, they went to Edgar's apartment in order to arrest him as a criminal (he had, indeed, rendered himself liable for manslaughter, and apparently for murder).

As he was caught in the very act, the police officers were, according to the laws, not only of this Republic, but of all South Africa and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, justified in breaking open the door in order to arrest the culprit.

"While doing so Edgar, with a dangerous weapon, struck Jones a severe blow. Under the stress of necessity the latter shot Edgar, from the effects of which he died. The question is not if Jones was justified in taking this extreme step, for the State Attorney of the Republic had already given effect to his opinion that this was a case for the jury by prosecuting him for manslaughter. The question is solely whether any jury in any country in the world would have found a man guilty of any crime under the circumstances set forth, and whether, if they did not find him guilty, the fact of their doing so would have been stamped and branded as a flagrant and remarkable instance of the maladministration of justice.

"This Government is convinced that the English judicial administration affords numberless instances where the facts are as strong as in this case, and it cannot see why an occurrence which could happen in any part of the world would be especially thrown in their teeth in the form of an accusation.

"This Government does not wish to pass over in silence the censure which has been passed by Her Majesty's Government on the Public Prosecutor of Johannesburg, by whom the prosecution of this case was conducted; the fact that being of pure English blood, that he received his legal training in London, that he is generally respected by the Uitlander population on account of his ability, impartiality, and general character, will naturally not be of any weight

with Her Majesty's Government against the facts of his action in calling witnesses for the prosecution who were intended for the defence, and thus rendering an imaginary cross-examination abortive.

"This Government only wishes to point out that the fact that the Edgar case is the strongest which Her Majesty's Government has been able to quote against the administration of justice in this Republic affords the strongest and most eloquent proof possible that, taking it in general, the administration of justice on the gold fields of this Republic not only compares favorably with that on other and similar gold fields, but even with that of old and settled countries.

"The untrue representations of this occurrence in the press prove conclusively that the newspapers of the Witwatersrand, the atrocity-mongering tactics of which constitute a share of the organized campaign against the Republic and its Government, have been compelled to resort to mendacious criticisms on imaginary instances of maladministration, which were often simply invented. Where the Press is forced to adopt such methods, the true grievances must of necessity be unreal."

I now give Mr. Chamberlain's accusations about the Amphitheatre occurrence:

"Some light upon the extent to which the police can be trusted to perform their delicate duties with fairness and discretion is thrown by the events referred to by the petitioners, which took place at a meeting called by British subjects for the purpose of discussing their grievances, and held on the 14th

of January in the Amphitheatre of Johannesburg. The Government were previously apprised of the objects of the meeting, and their assent obtained, though this was not legally necessary for a meeting in an inclosed place. The organizers of the meeting state that they were informed by the State Secretary and the State Attorney that any one who committed acts of violence or used seditious language would be held responsible, and in proof of the peaceful objects of the meeting those who attended went entirely unarmed, by which it is understood that they did not even carry sticks. So little was any disturbance apprehended that ladies were invited to attend, and did attend. Yet, in the result, sworn affidavits of witnesses of different nationalities agree in the statement that the meeting was broken up almost immediately after its opening, and many of the persons attending it were violently assaulted by organized bands of hostile demonstrators, acting under the instigation and guidance of persons in Government employ, without any attempt at interference on the part of the police, and even in some cases with their assistance or loudly expressed sympathy.

"The Government of the South African Republic has been asked to institute an inquiry into these disgraceful proceedings, but the request has been met with a flat refusal."

This accusation was answered in the following manner:

"The Amphitheatre occurrence is used by Her Majesty's Government to show how incapable the

police of the Witwatersrand are to fulfil their duties and to preserve order. The League meeting was held at the so-called Amphitheatre at Johannesburg, with the knowledge of the State Secretary and State Attorney, and the accusation is that in spite of that fact the uproar which arose at that meeting was not quelled by the police. The following are the true facts: Mr. Wybergh and another, both in the service of the South African League, informed the State Secretary and the State Attorney that they intended to call this meeting in the Amphitheatre, and asked permission to do so. They were informed that no permission from the authorities was necessary, and that as long as the meeting did not give rise to irregularities or disturbances of the peace they would be acting entirely within their rights. Their attention was then drawn to the fact that owing to the action and the propaganda of the South African League, this body had become extremely unpopular with a large section of the inhabitants of Johannesburg, and that in all probability a disturbance of the peace would take place if a sufficient body of the police were not present to preserve order. To this these gentlemen answered that the police were in very bad odor since the Edgar case, that the meeting would be a very quiet one, that the presence of the police would contribute or give rise to disorder, and that they would on those grounds rather have no police at all.

"The State Secretary and State Attorney thereupon communicated with the head officials of the police at Johannesburg, with the result that the latter also thought that it would be better not to have any considerable number of police at the meeting,

The Government accordingly, on the advice of these officials of the League as well as their own police officials, gave instructions that the police should remain away from this meeting; they did this in perfect good faith and with the object of letting the League have its say without let or hindrance. The proposed meeting was, however, advertised far and wide. As the feeling among a section of the Witwatersrand population was exceedingly bitter against the League, a considerable number of the opponents of that body also attended the meeting. The few police who were present were powerless to quell the disorder, and when the police came on the scene in force some few minutes after the commencement of the uproar, the meeting was already broken up. Taken by itself, this occurrence would not be of much importance, as it is an isolated instance as far as the gold fields of this Republic are concerned, and even in the best organized and best ordered communities irregularities like the above occasionally take place.

"The gravity of the matter, however, lies in the unjust accusation of Her Majesty's Government—that the meeting was broken up by officials of this Republic, and that the Government had curtly refused to institute an inquiry.

"This Government would not have refused to investigate the matter if any complaints had been lodged with it, or at any of the local Courts, and this has been clearly stated in its reply to Her Majesty's request for an investigation.

"This Government objects strongly to the systematic way in which the local authorities are ignored and the continual complaints which are lodged with

the representatives of Her Majesty about matters which ought to be decided by the courts of this Republic. Instead, however, of complaining to Her Majesty's Government after all other reasonable means of redress have been vainly invoked, they continually make themselves guilty of ignoring and treating with contempt the local courts and authorities by continually making all sorts of ridiculous and *ex parte* complaints to Her Majesty's Government in the first instance; Her Majesty's Government is also thereby placed in the equivocal and undesirable position of intermeddling in the internal affairs of this Republic, which is in conflict with the London Convention. Had the complaints been lodged with this Government, or with the proper officials or courts, the facts could have been easily arrived at, and it would have been proved that the few officials who were present at the meeting as a section of the public had done their best to prevent the irregularities, and that some of them had been hurt in their endeavors to preserve order. Instead of expressing their disapproval of such complaints and referring the petitioners to the local courts, Her Majesty's Government accepts those complaints and gives them an official character by forwarding them for the information of this Government and by publishing them in blue books for the information of the world.

"Her Majesty's Government will readily acknowledge that there is no state in the world with any sense of dignity, however weak and insignificant it may be, which can regard such matters with an indifferent eye; and when the relations of the two Governments are strained, then the mainspring must

be looked for in this action of its subjects, which is not disapproved of by Her Majesty's Government, and not in imaginary or trumped-up grievances."

I have now examined the principal financial and administrative grievances of the English Uitlanders. I say English Uitlanders advisedly, because complaints are seldom or never heard from other nationalities, either directly or by means of diplomatic representations.

Can it be contended with the slightest shadow of right and fairness that these grievances afford a reason for intervention? What crimes have been committed here against humanity or the law of nations? Do not the recorded grievances and abuses find a parallel in occurrences which are taking place every day in the most civilized countries? One can with perfect justice apply to the present circumstances the language which the Russian Government used in stigmatizing the illegal intervention of the British Government in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Naples:

"We would understand that as a consequence of friendly forethought, one Government should give advice to another in a benevolent spirit; that such advice might even assume the character of exhortation; but we believe that to be the furthest limit allowable. Less than ever can it now be allowed in Europe to forget that sovereigns are equal among themselves, and that it is not the extent of territory, but the sacred character of the rights of each, which regulates the relations that exist between them. To endeavor to obtain from the King of Naples concessions as regards the internal government of his states

by threats, or by a menacing demonstration, is a violent usurpation of his authorities, an attempt to govern in his stead; it is an open declaration of the right of the strong over the weak."

In spite of all its hypocritical accusations, the British Government is perfectly well aware that, notwithstanding the unparalleled difficulties with which the Government and the Legislature have had to contend, the administration of the South African Republic is on a sound basis, and can, indeed, be favorably compared with that of other countries in a similar position.

It knows full well that the grievances which are used, by means of blue books, to stir up and excite the altruistic and humane feelings of the British public are for the most part imaginary, and that even if they were perfectly genuine they nevertheless afford no ground for a justifiable interference in the internal affairs of the Republic. It is therefore necessary to have recourse to "Constitutional means" of another description.

The third and last "Constitutional" method which Mr. Chamberlain has had recourse to in order to forcibly intermeddle in the internal affairs of the South African Republic is the claim of equal rights for all the white inhabitants of the South African Republic. In this claim he has also followed the inspiration of Mr. Rhodes, for after the Jameson Raid Mr. Rhodes was prepared with a new programme for the "progressive policy" of South Africa, and made use of the formula, "Equal rights for all white people south of the Zambesi." Mr. Rhodes altered this cry afterwards, with an eye to the colored vote in the Cape Colony, to "Equal

rights for all civilized persons south of the Zambesi."

In due time the echo resounded from Downing Street, "Equal political rights for all persons in the South African Republic." This formula may be either desirable or undesirable as a political aspiration in South Africa. But it is somewhat strange that Mr. Chamberlain should be one of the leaders of the party in England which has strenuously opposed the policy of manhood suffrage. In our case, however, Mr. Chamberlain does not confine himself to friendly advice, but he *demand*s the franchise for all Uitlanders.

The South African Republic already possesses a franchise law, according to which every person is entitled to the full franchise after a seven years' residence in the Republic. But Mr. Chamberlain goes much further, and claims a far more extensive franchise. On what grounds does he base his claim?

He appeals to the discussions which formed a prelude to the Convention of 1881. In the discussions, however, mention is only made of burgher rights or civil rights, with reference to which all possible equality has continuously existed since the Sand River Convention. To safeguard the equality of those civil as distinguished from political rights, Art. 12 of the Pretoria Convention provides "all persons (Her Majesty's loyal subjects) will have full liberty to reside in the country with the enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property."

The period of the franchise was increased in 1882 from one year to five years, without, however, any protest from Her Majesty's Government, and in

1884 it was provided in the new Convention of that year in the most express and clear way possible that:

"(*Art. XIV.*).—All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*), they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*), they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*), they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic."

In this way all white Uitlanders were guaranteed in their rights of free movement, ownership, and possession of property, trade, and commerce, and equal taxation with the burghers. There is no mention of political rights, nor has there ever been before this year—1899. The Government of the South African Republic would be acting strictly in terms of the Convention if it informed Mr. Chamberlain that it alone has to determine upon the franchise, as being a question of a purely internal nature; and further, that in claiming the right in terms of that Convention to force the Government to adopt a particular Franchise Law Mr. Chamberlain is the party who is violating the Convention.

The Government of the South African Republic, however, took up a higher position; the State Presi-

dent went to Bloemfontein for the purpose of discussing even internal affairs in a friendly spirit with the High Commissioner—*inter alia*—the question of the franchise, as he was actuated by the wish to consolidate and promote the peace of South Africa.

Sir Alfred Milner said there: "If the question could be settled upon a broad and firm basis, the tension would disappear and everything come right in time." He has done his best latterly to prove that he did not say or mean anything of the kind, that the franchise question was only one of the burning internal matters in which Her Majesty's Government interested itself, and that a favorable understanding about the franchise would in no way pave the way to an agreement as to the other points of difference.

The attitude of Sir Alfred Milner in this and other questions is, however, of such a nature that it is better to say nothing about his conduct, but to leave him to the judgment of public opinion and history. No agreement being possible between the parties, President Kruger left Bloemfontein and amended the Franchise Law in such a way that the Orange Free State, the Afrikanders of Cape Colony, and even Mr. Schreiner, Premier of the Cape Colony, publicly signified their approval of the amendment which had been made.

Mr. Chamberlain now discarded the appearance of friendliness, and began to adopt a menacing tone in his communications to the Government of the South African Republic. He proposed that the question as to whether the new Franchise Law was satisfactory or not should be discussed by a Joint Commission.

In the mean while, owing to informal conversations between the State Attorney and the British Government, there seemed to be a reasonable prospect of a speedy and satisfactory settlement. The British Government, on being sounded by its agent, announced that if a five years' franchise, unhampered by complicated conditions, and with a quarter representation for the gold fields, were conceded, it would be prepared to consider the conditions upon which the proposal depended, on their merits, and would not consider such a proposal as a refusal to accept the Joint Inquiry. The conditions were that (*a*) no further interference should take place; (*b*) that the claim of suzerainty should drop; and (*c*) that further disputes should be settled by Arbitration. As soon, however, as the proposal was formally made the British Government refused to accept the condition with regard to the dropping of the suzerainty claim, notwithstanding the fact that the High Commissioner had declared in an official dispatch that the suzerainty controversy appeared to him to be etymological and not political. Shortly afterward the British Government made what was practically the same proposal, but *without* the condition as to the dropping of the suzerainty claim.

As the Government of the South African Republic attached a vital importance to this condition, in view of maintaining its international status, it refused to accept the proposal in this form; it, however, now reverted to the invitation for a joint inquiry, which it agreed to accept, but the British Government replied that it was too late, and that as a matter of fact it no longer adhered to the invitation.

Here we see in the clearest light—

(1) That although the High Commissioner had stated that the suzerainty was only a question of etymological importance, and although the British Government had never been able to refute the arguments advanced by the South African Republic as to the abolition of the suzerainty in 1884, the British Government was nevertheless determined not to abandon its pretension, and is now prepared to make war in South Africa over this point.

(2) That the British Government invites the South African Republic to a joint inquiry, and when this invitation, which had never been withdrawn, is accepted, the acceptance is refused with every mark of contempt.

Is there any instance in the history of civilized diplomacy of such trickery and such callous jugglery with the highest interests of South Africa?

Can any one wonder that South Africa has lost all confidence in British statesmanship?

The British name has been sullied in this part of the world by many perfidious actions, but of a truth I cannot instance any more despicable and repellent incidents than those which have marked the course of events during the last few months.

And the consequence of this trickery will be written with the blood and the tears of thousands of innocent people.

CONCLUSION.

I have now given the facts of a Century of Oppression and Persecution. They are not air-born assumptions, but are taken from the mouth of the most trustworthy historical witnesses, nearly all of

them of British nationality; they are facts admitted as incontestable before the court of history. As to the more recent events, since 1898, I have personal knowledge of all negotiations and differences described, and I can state that I have confined myself to facts that will be more clearly elucidated in coming years, when the curtain will rise and the events of the last two years in this deeply stricken country will be fully published.

Arrived at this terrible turning-point in the history of South Africa, at the eve of a struggle wherein our people are threatened with total extinction, it behooves us to speak—with what may, perhaps, be our last word to the world—the truth, so that even if we should perish, truth may triumph through us over our victors, and may continue to eat like a cancer in their public life, until it will be their turn to sink down into the night of oblivion.

Hitherto our people have kept silent, the enemy has calumniated, slandered and struck our people, and treated us with contempt and hatred. But with dignity that may remind the world of a suffering still greater and deeper, our people have borne the insult and contempt of the enemy, and impelled by the conscientiousness of their duty, have tried to remove the errors and abuses that might have been committed by their State Government in moments of less watchfulness. Even this was called weakness and cowardice. Upon hundreds of platforms in Great Britain and by the most prominent statesmen our people have been, of late, called incompetent, uncivilized, faithless, corrupt, bloodthirsty, void of honor, treacherous, and the like, until not only the British public, but nearly the entire civilized world, has com-

menced to believe that we are wellnigh the equals of wild beasts. Those insults, those defiances, we have passed them in silence.

From the official blue books of Her Majesty's Government, from the dispatches of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, we were compelled to hear that our corrupt State Government and our unjust, unprincipled, and disorderly administration were running sores, putrefying like a pestilence the moral and political atmosphere of South Africa. And we have kept silent. In numerous newspapers we have been accused of all possible crimes against civilization and humanity; crimes have been laid at our door, the mere mentioning of which make the heart shudder. If the reading public believed only one-hundredth part of the enormities told about our people and Government, it must have come to the conclusion that this Republic was a den of murderers and brigands; that we were a people, the mere existence of which was a blot upon humanity. Nobody has seen any effects of the enormous sums which we were alleged to spend from the secret fund in order to buy the public opinion of the world, but the slander went its course like an all-destroying hurricane. But our people kept silent, partly from ignorance and partly from a feeling of despairing helplessness; partly because, as a simple agricultural people, they do not read newspapers, and thus could not realize how the feelings of the entire world were aroused against us with malignant rage. The practical result was that our cause was lost by default before the tribunal of public opinion. For these reasons I have now deemed it my duty to state the facts that have characterized the British policy

the Boers. This was the secret purpose; as regards the ways to attain it, in harmony with the inherent hypocrisy of the British policy, they were partly concealed and partly open, and there was a very wide difference between the two kinds. The concealed way was to arm the Kaffir tribes against us and to incite them to attack us in violation of the solemn treaties and promises. If successful in this, England could conceal its true purpose and means, and could openly interfere for the preservation of peace and order and to protect civilization in this part of the world, and under these pretexts the Republics could be annexed. With regard to the Orange Free State this policy was not successful, as, notwithstanding the unlawful detention of their firearms and ammunition by the British Government, the brave Burghers of our neighboring Republic, after a hard struggle, succeeded in defeating Moshesh. In this case, England was compelled to confine itself to the protection of its Basuto instruments, to prevent the Boers from attaining any benefit from their victories, and to the unlawful annexation of the diamond fields.

As to the South African Republic, unfortunately, its citizens were not careful enough to guard against the shrewd policy of the enemy. The Transvaal Boers had vanquished the most powerful Kaffir tribes and did not realize for a moment that the small Kaffir wars, which had been brought about by English intrigues, and which they did not prosecute with all possible energy, could ever be used as a pretext to annex their country to the British empire. Thus the wars with Magato and Secoecoeni were prolonged to the greatest satisfaction of Sir Theophile Shepstone and his principals. And thus came



OLD DUTCH CHURCH IN GOVERNMENT SQUARE, PRETORIA.
Government Buildings and State Church during Communion Festival.

the Annexation, "with the extension to the South African Republic of Her Majesty's authority and protection, by which means only the unity of purpose and action could be assured, and a happy prospect of peace and prosperity could be opened for the future." These words of the Shepstone proclamation reveal in all its horrible nakedness the hypocrisy which secretly plunges the dagger into the Boer Republic and openly played the part of the disinterested and merciful Samaritan.

The third period of our history is characterized by the combination of the old well-known policy of deceit with the new power of capitalism, born from the mineral treasures of the South African Republic. Both our national and our political independence are now threatened by an unrivalled complication of powers and influences. We are now confronted by the numbers, the British public opinion seeking blood and vengeance, the capital of the world and all powers that can only be called together under the banner of rapaciousness and cupidity. During the last year our situation has become gradually more precarious. The cordon of beasts and birds of prey has, during the last ten years, been gradually tightened around our poor doomed people.

Like the wounded goat feeling the approach of the lion, the fox, or the buzzard, our people all over South Africa are surrounded by the intrigues, vindictiveness, hatred, and cupidity of its enemies. Every ocean carries the vessels laden with British troops from all parts of the world to crush this handful of people. Even Xerxes, with his millions moving against little Greece, does not furnish a more unnatural spectacle to the surprised world than this

sweet mother of nations, holding the sharpened knife in her hands and using all her power, all her treasures, all her high traditions, to kill this poor baby crawling in the dust. This is no war, but an attempt at infanticide.

And when the thought of the spectator is struck by horror and his brain refuses to work, then rises before him, as a dream in the near future, the scene of Bantu children playing in the gardens and the ruins of the sunny South, over the graves wherein the children of the heroes of faith and liberty of all Europe are slumbering. And the Bantu bands of brigands and murderers again roam where the dwelling of the white European used to stand. And if he asks why all this has happened; why the heroic children of an heroic race, to which civilization owes its highest possessions, were murdered in this remote part of the world, an invisible satyr will answer: "Civilization is a failure, the Caucasian has gone under;" and then he will wake up with the screeching of the word Gold! Gold! Gold! in his ears.

The orchids of Birmingham are yellow. The traditions of the greatest empire of the world have faded and become yellow. The laurels fought for by the British legions in South Africa are yellow. But the heaven over South Africa will always remain blue. And justice invoked by Piet Retief when our fathers left the Cape Colony; invoked by Joachim Pinsloo in the Volksraad of Natal, at the time of the annexation by England, and to which the Burghers of the Transvaal devoted their cause at Paardekraal, in 1880, remains unchanged and is like a rock, against which the rushing waves of British diplomacy will break.

It works according to eternal laws, unaffected by human pride or change. As the old Greek poet said, it allows the tyrant and his brutal bride to climb higher and higher, to increase his honor and power until he reaches the zenith allotted to him, and then he plunges down into the bottomless precipice.

Africans, I call upon you! Act as Leonidas and his 300 men, who faced Xerxes and his followers at Thermopylæ, and do not fear men like Milner, Rhodes, and Chamberlain, and not even the British Empire, but rely upon the God of our fathers and that justice which sometimes acts slowly but never slumbers or forgets. Our fathers did not pale before the Spanish Inquisition, but commenced the great struggle for freedom and right, even with the mighty Philip, regardless of any consequences. Neither torture nor the murderous bands of Louis XIV. could break the spirit of our fathers.

No Alva, no Richelieu succeeded in rendering tyranny victorious over the spirit of freedom and independence of our forefathers, nor will a Chamberlain make the power of capitalism triumph in our lands.

If it is so disposed that we, no matter how small we may be, must be the first of all nations to take up the struggle with the new world tyrant of capitalism, we will be found ready, even if this tyrant is supported by all the power of Jingoism.

May the hope that animated us in our struggle of 1880 be also indelibly engraved upon our hearts in the present supreme moment. May that hope be a beacon of light on our path, wading through blood and tears, that will guide us to a truly United South

Africa. And like in 1880 we now confidently lay our cause before the whole world. Whether we conquer, whether we die, liberty will rise in South Africa like the sun rises from the morning clouds, and like it rose in the United States of America, and then it will be from the Zambesi to Simons Bay—

“AFRICA FOR THE AFRIKANDER.”

AN EARNEST REPRESENTATION AND HISTORICAL REMINDER.

PRETORIA, JUNE 15, 1899.

*To Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great
Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, etc., etc.*

YOUR MAJESTY: It is with feelings of deepest pain and distress that the undersigned ventures to address Your Most Gracious Majesty at this critical period, and in view of the dark future, which, as a cloud, is hovering over South Africa, the land of his birth and home. This unhappy situation has been brought about by the unjust action of one of Your Majesty's Ministers, who, perhaps in good faith, though upon incorrect information, has allowed himself to be led by unscrupulous fortune-seekers, reckless speculators and insatiable capitalists.

This matter will be reverted to again during the course of this letter by Your Majesty's lowly petitioner, who desires, first, in all humility, to make known to Your Majesty who he is. He is a descendant of and great-great-grandson of Pierre Joubert, one of the Huguenots, who, because of their religious belief, were obliged to leave their homes and friends, and to seek refuge from persecution in flight to South Africa, where they could serve their God in freedom. He settled at Fransch Hoek, near Cape Town, which was then under the administration of

the "Hollandsche Compagnie," and became soon, through the blessing of God, one of the richest and most influential farmers and landowners there. He resided there until compelled by circumstances to remove to the district of Graaff-Reinet, where he now lies buried—in the land of my birth, that passed for good under the rule of Great Britain, in 1806.

Alas! What has our nation not experienced and suffered under that rule? It has, perhaps, never been brought to Your Majesty's notice why these people could not live peacefully in their land of adoption and birth. And yet, who is there now to tell you thereof? And how would he begin? It would, indeed, be tedious to relate everything minutely, Your Majesty!

The discontent, so often, and to his detriment, ascribed to the Boer was exaggerated and misrepresented, as, for instance, in the matter of the freeing of the slaves, when he was described as being inhumanly against their liberation. No! Your Majesty, it was not the Christian Boers' repugnance to the emancipation, but his opposition to the means employed in effecting same under the blessed British rule. Is Your Majesty perhaps aware how the Boers became possessed of those slaves? They, the Boers, had no ships to convey the slaves from Mozambique and elsewhere, as none other than English vessels were allowed to bring slaves to the Cape market; therefore, it was from English slave-ships that the Boers first bought their slaves, and in this manner enjoyed a short season of prosperity; for, assisted by their dearly bought slaves, they could have their lands ploughed and sown with grain, which, under the blessings of Britannia's laws, could be sold for

not more than 18d. per bag. It was thereafter shipped abroad by English merchants and sold at immense profits. And then, Your Majesty, the Boer was suddenly told: "Your slaves are free, and you will receive compensation to such and such an amount for them, which you will have to go and get in England." Your Majesty, how could the Boer be expected with his ox-wagon or horses to go and fetch same? To have undertaken, at that time, a voyage so dangerous and lengthy (a hundred days or so being the time required to accomplish same) would have cost more than the small amount of the indemnity he was to receive for his dearly bought slaves. What could the Boer do? The only means left him was to engage the English dealer, from whom he had purchased the slaves at exorbitant prices, to go and fetch the money for him, or to sell his chance for what he could get.

How many unscrupulous agents and merchants took advantage of the opportunity thus offered, not to reconcile the Boer to the law and authority of the British Government, but to carry out their own designs, in order to satisfy their cupidity, thus nurturing the hostility of the Boer against the Government, hoping thereby, eventually, to acquire possession of his lands.

The population increasing, spread out further and further, gradually enlarging the Colony; and it is, perhaps, known to Your Majesty, how the poor Boers on the frontiers fared, how they were robbed of their cattle, and how, owing to the insufficient protection afforded them, they were often left to their fate, or more frequently persecuted and oppressed, so that it is not to be wondered at (although I do not seek

to justify their conduct) that, disgusted and dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them, they at last rebelled against the Government; thus originating what took place in 1815 and ended so disastrously. For, as Your Majesty is perhaps aware, matters had reached such a pitch that a collision between the British troops and British subjects at length resulted over the quarrel of a Boer with a semi-civilized native, which unfortunate incident has imparted to the place where the British took such extreme measures against the Boers, an irreconcilable and ever-to-be-remembered name—"Slachtbank or Slachtersnek"—which it bears even unto this day.

Alas! Your Majesty, what had the Boer not to suffer, then, under the otherwise glorious British rule? Inquire of the border settlers of 1820 to 1834, when their eventful departure from the Colony took place. Is it, perhaps, known to Your Majesty how they were driven back from the boundaries by the natives who pursued them far into the country, harassing and molesting them? Yes, even murdering some, robbing them of their cattle, and burning and laying waste their homes. What protection did they enjoy against the savages who had murdered their wives and children, who had lashed young girls to the trunks of trees, ravished them, cut off their breasts, and, after performing nameless other cruelties, killed them? They, the Boers, were called out for Commando Service at their own expense, under command and control of the British, to fight the Kaffirs. And with what result? The Boer was impoverished thereby, without the Kaffir being brought to a sense of his duty; for while on commando, his cattle were stolen from his farm and driven away into Kaffir-

land, whither he was prevented from going in order to recover them. No! they had no choice but to wait until the troops retook the cattle, which were afterwards publicly sold as loot in the presence of the owners thereof, the Boers being informed that they would receive compensation for same. But, Your Majesty, they received no recompense; not in money or goods, neither in rest nor peace, but, instead, abuse and indignities were heaped on them. They were told that they should be satisfied at not being punished as the instigators of the disturbance.

Your Majesty, this was the state of affairs in 1834. The dissatisfaction evinced at such treatment became more and more pronounced. The Boers were told by His Excellency, the Governor, that all who were not content or would not submit to British rule were at liberty to migrate beyond the borders of the Colony, out of British territory. With feelings of deep anguish at the thought of having to leave their motherland and the country of their birth, and with a weary sigh, the question escaped them, "Whither? To the dismal hinterland of savage South Africa?" Yes! yes! Your Majesty, rather the dangers of the wilderness, amidst wild animals and savage men, than to remain longer under the yoke of so iniquitous a Government. And then, "Come, friends; come, brothers! Pack your wagons, collect your flocks and herds, and let us go away over the border. God knows whither, and He will guide us."

The officials of the British Empire, the ambitious merchants and others, flourished there, Your Majesty, but hither came the Boers in groups and families in search of peace and rest. There being no one to purchase their well-cultivated farms, which

they could not remove, they were compelled to part with same for a ridiculous price or abandon them entirely. Then into the unknown they wandered; there to face the dangers and suffering inseparable from such a journey. How could they arm themselves against such dangers? They were not permitted to carry arms or ammunition along with them, but were even followed by British officials beyond the Orange River, to try and find out if there were not perhaps still one faithful slave with his master, and if the Boers were not perhaps carrying a quantity of arms and ammunition along with them. Thanks to the kindness of those officials, the Boers were advised of the object of their coming, and were consequently enabled to conceal their guns and ammunition. Does Your Majesty not perceive in the aforementioned some analogy to certain facts in biblical history? For even as Pharaoh drove the Israelites through the Red Sea, were the Boers driven through the Great River. Is it, then, to be wondered at that, sad at heart and with intense bitterness, they preferred the perils of the desert? Your Majesty, who can write the history of their lives? Who can describe the suffering they endured? They ventured forth, trusting in God, rid of all human despotism, surrounded by wild beasts, in search of a free land for their children and children's children. They wandered in small groups further and further, yet ever onward, until they arrived at the Vaal River. Here they pitched their tents and regarded the country as their Eldorado. Here were the means of subsistence—fish in the water, game on the veldt, and a prospect of being able to sow crops and to live in peace. They could clothe themselves with skins and

subsist on flesh until God, in His bounty, provided other means; at least so reasoned the poor Boers. "Come now, let us erect our tent (our tabernacle) to celebrate the Sabbath, for in our God we believe and trust; He has given unto us this glorious land and we shall live and praise Him here. It needs not that we go beyond the Jordan, we have no Babylon or Jericho to overthrow. No walls to be demolished for us, for our Canaan is an uninhabited land; therefore, ye Boers, be up, work and live."

Thus they thought, and thus they spoke; but how short-lived was their delight, when at break of day, one morning, the dread cry of "Murder! Murder!" awakened them. What could it be? Whence this uproar and confusion? Moselikatse, head of a cruel, unknown Kaffir tribe, had come with a large regiment of warriors from the far north, through a wild and unpopulated country, a distance of over a hundred miles, and attacked a small detachment of Boers near the river, no warning having reached them of the intended onslaught. "Up, now! Courage, men! Fight for your lives, for your wives and your children." The odds at first were three to one, then seven, and eventually increased to twenty to one; but God gave them courage and strength, and they not only repulsed the horde of savages, but succeeded in rescuing several children and severely wounded women who were captured. Your Majesty, these were anxious days for them. Women wounded—in one, over twenty assegai stabs being counted—no doctor being on hand, without medicine, and many widows and orphans, destitute of food and clothing, left to their care. And what had to be done next? Leave the Eldorado. To flee? Whither? Back

again? No, no! Not to the flesh pots of Egypt, but to God. He is our refuge!

Other parties of the Boers had gone eastward. With these they now decided to combine. But did the undaunted Moselikatse allow these few Boers to escape him? To the contrary, he immediately sent a second expedition, much stronger than the previous one, commanding it not to return so long as there remained a Boer living; that he did not thereafter wish to hear of a living Boer. Thus it came to pass that this small party of fleeing Boers (thirty-eight only being capable of bearing arms), with their wives and children, together with cattle and thirty-four wagons, were followed by that great commando of savages, until they reached that ever memorable spot in the Orange Free State known as "Vechtkop," where the Boers, recognizing the futility of continuing their flight, drew up a laager or camp with their wagons, surrounding same with branches of trees, and calmly awaited their pitiless foe, who did not long delay in attacking them with all the fiendish courage of savages. Prepared to die, in the face of overwhelming odds, they, nevertheless, determined to fight manfully to the last, trusting in God. The impending danger was awaited in earnest supplications before the Throne of the Triune God. As the enemy pressed on, each Boer made use of his rifle, causing the smoke to ascend in such volumes to heaven that even the flying enemy imagined the Boers had been vanquished, that their laager was in flames, and that they had been utterly annihilated. We were afterward told that when the intelligence reached Grahamstown, Cape Colony, Your Majesty's subjects were so elated thereat that they celebrated

the receipt of the news by bonfires and other illuminations, thinking the last of the Boers had fallen, and that the extravagant expectations of the discontented rebels had now all ended in smoke. But no! Your Majesty, our God in heaven had another destiny for the Boer. For, notwithstanding 1,333 assegais were hurled into the small laager, only two men were killed and six wounded, and their little camp, unlike the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, was not laid waste. There was still to be found five just men before God, whose prayers had warded off disaster, and thwarted the wishes of Your Majesty's Grahams-town subjects. Not only did our God cause the smoke and mist to disappear, but he touched the heart of a noble native, Marroco, who, when he heard of the wretched plight that had overtaken the Boers, sent them, without delay, succor in the shape of milk, Kaffir corn and pack-oxen, thereby enabling them to rejoin their friends, who had passed over the Drakensberg into Natal.

Before further recording the history of this party, I would like to relate to Your Majesty about two other ill-fated parties of trekkers—that of Jansen van Rensburg, which proceeded northward, beyond Zoutpansberg, never to be heard of again, for all record of them is as absolutely lost to the world as that of the ten tribes of Israel. It was stated that, owing to the want of ammunition, which was denied them by the Government of the British Cape Colony, on their departure into the wilds, they were massacred, every one of them. However, what actually became of them we do not know.

The other party, under Louis Trichardt, also ventured as far as Zoutpansberg, thence proceeding

southeastward until Delagoa Bay was reached, where he, the leader, and others succumbed to the there prevailing fever, and from which place the few survivors, together with their children, were conveyed by vessel to Natal, where they were enabled to rejoin their friends. The misery and suffering experienced and endured by these pioneers is likewise indescribable, and distresses one even to think of.

But now let us return to the history of those who passed over the Drakensberg and attached themselves to Piet Retief, Gert Maritz, and Uys, and let us see, Your Majesty, how they fared. Did they go to attack a peaceful people? Did they go as freebooters into a strange or friendly country? Did they go purposing to wrest territory from a lot of defenceless savages, or did they go to revenge themselves on the brother of Moselikatse for the iniquitous attack on them at the instigation of the latter? Did they seek to avenge the blood of Van Rensburg and others, who were murdered by the same race of savages as that to which Dingaan belonged? No! Your Majesty, nothing of the kind. First they held communion with the Almighty God, and then approached the savage ruler of the land, King Dingaan, who had already promised them a tract of country, and requested him to grant them a written agreement to that effect. It is doubtless known to Your Majesty how this cruel and barbarous chief, after having given them the land, and after duly signing the agreement thereto, mercilessly and treacherously murdered Piet Retief and his seventy men, immediately afterward sending out his commandos to massacre those awaiting the return of Piet Retief and the unsuspecting women and children. Thus

without warning were 600 helpless old men, women and children butchered in cold blood. What a panic, what dismay, this caused among the Boers scattered about the country! Those remaining were robbed of all their cattle; and what could they do? Should they await other such onslaughts and perish eventually at the hands of a savage people, or die of hunger in the wilderness? Alas, how dismal their outlook seemed! Whither could they go? Whence could they expect help? From Great Britain? Yes, and help came too! A vessel arrived at Port Natal, and Captain Jarvis stepped on shore. "Thank God, assistance was at hand; now no more starvation; no more fear of the sword of Dingaan. Succor has come at last!" Such were the thoughts of many a simple-minded Boer. But, alas! how soon was their joy to be turned into grief and indignation, for how terribly surprised were they to learn that, instead of having come to their aid, he was sent to forbid them to fight with the natives and to disarm them. What was to be done? Should they offer Captain Jarvis resistance? Yes! Rather would they fight to the death than hand over their firearms. But what, then, if the Kaffirs should come to his aid? The Boers found their prospects more cheerless now than ever. They acted, therefore, with great cunning, yet with submissiveness. Rather than show antagonism they hid their guns and ammunition and submitted to the inspection and search of Captain Jarvis, anxiously praying to God to give them refuge. Captain Jarvis, having ascertained that there was no booty to be got from the poor Boers, and as Natal offered but few attractions then, was glad to take his departure.

Poor, deserted Boer, what was now your outlook? In a savage land, in the vicinity of a powerful and barbarous tribe, ruled over by the tyrant Dingaan. What was there to do but to avenge the murders committed and restore peace with the sword? Therefore, it behooved Pieter Uys, Hdk. Potgieter and every one to punish Dingaan and his tribe and to re-establish peace, otherwise the Boers would not have been able to live in the country. Therefore, "Two hundred men of you up and get at the mighty Dingaan!" This, however, was not owing to a lust for fighting, Your Majesty, but because the Boer adjudged it absolutely necessary, and no one in the world could have done otherwise.

A return to the Colony was not to be thought of. The only conclusion they could arrive at was to endeavor to compel Dingaan, at the edge of the sword, to promote peace. How unfortunate, though, was the outcome of this desperate effort of only two hundred men to advance against the might of Dingaan, in the midst of his people and in his own dangerous land, without the support of cannon or other instruments of war, but simply mounted on their horses, armed with flintlock guns. And yet they had no choice but to do it. The issue was only as could have been expected. Dingaan's regiments were too powerful for the little handful of Boers, who were forced to take refuge in flight, not, however, until after hundreds of the foe had bitten the dust. Their small stock of ammunition had run out; their brave commander, Piet Uys, his never-to-be-forgotten little son, and eight others lost their lives in this conflict. But in vain! Dingaan was conqueror and his courage revived immediately. He then sent a larger

and more powerful commando than before, with instructions to completely destroy the Boers. This time, however, the Boers were on their guard. They had constructed a laager on the banks of the Bosmans River, where the flourishing village of Escourt now lies, close to the village Weenen (to wail), so called in memory of the many wailing women and children massacred there.

It was here that Dingaan was to learn that, although but a mere handful of whites, the Boers, with righteousness as their cause, were not to be overthrown by his iniquitous hosts. No! they did not rely in the strength of their horses or the heroism of their men, but in the omnipotence of their God, who gave them the victory. For, although the Boers were surrounded by overwhelming odds and repeatedly stormed by thousands and thousands of the enemy, they lost but one killed. The Zulus, however, after three days' fighting, were forced to retire, leaving so many of their dead on the field that for years after the veldt was white with their bones, testifying to the frightful carnage that took place there. God had protected the Boers and delivered the dearly bought land of Natal into their hands. They had, however, been robbed of all their cattle and knew not what to do. Their God and His word still remained to them, and so they were comforted—for he who has faith in God has not built upon the sand—and in the sight of heaven their cause was just. Therefore he sent them help from above. Andries Pretorius had in company with other Boers recently arrived from the Cape, and he, having called together all the Boers to be found in Natal, and even as many of those to be found in the territory known as the

Orange Free State, formed a commando about four hundred strong, with which he hazarded to invade Dingaan's country, and notwithstanding the fact that his men were armed only with flintlock guns, they succeeded, on December 16, 1838, in not only defeating him (Dingaan) in this battle, but in overthrowing his kingdom and destroying his chief kraal, driving him so far inland that he was nevermore able to return. In token of their gratitude for the victory gained, the Boers made a vow to ever afterward keep the date thereof as a day of thanksgiving, and so the 16th of December is always commemorated at Paardekraal.

One would have thought, Your Majesty, that the Boer after this would have been left alone to live peaceably, praising his God in the country he had bought so dear. But no! the yoke of oppression had not yet been broken. Their cup of bitterness was not yet emptied. Scarcely had the Boers laid out the village, Pietermaritzburg, dug a water-furrow, erected a church, started a small school for their children, and built a court-house and prison, when lo! threatening clouds began to gather and the alarm to sound again. What can it be—the Kaffirs? No! a thousand, thousand times worse. The English have come; an officer with a company of soldiers, equipped with cannon and shell, is here! "It is Captain Jarvis, that good—that brave old soldier. We will soon be able to adjust matters with him; he will presently be gone again." No! my poor fellow-Boers, you are deluded. The officer is Captain Smith; he has come to annex the country as a possession of that mighty empire, Great Britain—to make an end to our boasted independence and to destroy our peace.

Your Majesty, it is with a shudder I recall this deplorable incident. It cannot be wondered at that the Boers, who had endured and suffered so much to obtain this land and to form an independent people, should have declined to voluntarily submit to such an injustice, and have resisted any attempts to achieve the same. When they discovered that argument and fair words were of no avail, and that Major Smith was steadfast in his purpose to take possession of the country and crush the Boers, and, as a step in that direction, had already declared the bay annexed, they were driven to the verge of despair and so resorted to arms. Having hastily collected together to the number of about two hundred, for they were but few and much scattered, they advanced toward the Congella. Major Smith, vainly imagining that this mere handful of Boers would be disconcerted and put to flight at the first firing of his cannon, advanced along the shore under cover of darkness, until he had almost reached the sleeping laager, when he opened fire on the picket guard, comprising about twenty-eight men, with the fatal result that one Boer was killed, Jan Greyling. The remainder of the Boers repelled the attack, and obliged the Major to retreat, leaving his cannon behind. I may here mention that more of the troops got drowned in the sea than succumbed to the bullets of the Boers. Now they had to face the fact that, although thankful to God for his many mercies, and in deep sorrow at the loss of one of the bravest of their young men and for the many soldiers drowned, they had opposed the might of Britain. It was awful to contemplate; so young a nation as they, which had suffered so many hardships at the

hands of the savages during the great trek, and that had just been visited by an epidemic of measles, which, owing to the lack of medical assistance and proper nourishment, had carried off many of them. Should they fight or surrender? was the question asked. Certainly, fight for their just rights. But, see, two ships were coming; it is madness for this little handful of Boers to offer further resistance. They were not trained nor armed with cannon; and thus could not prevent the landing of a force stronger than they were themselves. They dared not longer to fight the English, for the Kaffirs had already commenced to harass them from the rear. A Boer had been killed on his farm, and another, named Van Rooyen, murdered, his wife and daughter being subjected to the most inhuman treatment, ravished and driven away naked. Others were assaulted and barely escaped with their lives. In this way the Kaffirs proved of great service to Major Smith and his soldiers, who were besieged by the Boers and had already been driven to the extremity of eating crows and horseflesh, and who would undoubtedly have been obliged to capitulate had it not been for the harassing attacks of the Kaffirs in the rear of the Boers, which necessitated them hastening out to their farms, in order to save their families from certain death. And thus it came to pass that the Boers lost their sacred right to the territory of Natal, which had been purchased with the blood of their slain. What was to be done next? There was no other remedy for it but to trek again, and to trek inland, whither the English would not follow them, for if they remained they would once more have had to submit to the British yoke. They would, never-

theless, first give the latter a trial. "We will submit," they said; "perhaps England will deal with us more kindly here than she did in the Cape Colony, our motherland. Come, let us wait and see!" What happened after this, Your Majesty? The first thing Your Majesty's servants did was to banish certain of the Boers, who had to flee for their lives. This was not all, however, for when the Kaffirs stole their cattle and brought them to Major Smith, the Boers were told they could not get same back, as he had run short of provisions and would require them as food. Thus were the prospects of the Boer growing darker and darker. Colonel Cloete had arrived. What had he to tell them? Firstly, that they were to consider themselves the conquered subjects of Her Majesty. And, as such, what would they enjoy? Each one who had occupied a piece of ground could make application for same, which, after certain investigations, would be granted him. The country had been won and acquired by the Boers; consequently the Boer Volksraad had granted to each Boer capable of bearing arms two farms and one erf at Pietermaritzburg. These farms were inspected, registered, and declared as marketable property some time before the appearance of the English. When, however, several of the Boers, dissatisfied with the principle of British rule, began to leave the country, and tried to barter their farms and erven for wagons, trek-cattle, clothing, and other requisites for their fresh trek inland, they, as well as the few Boers who intended to remain under British rule in Natal and had bought or given something in exchange for the erven and farms, were profoundly astonished, not to say disappointed, when they ap-

proached Colonel Cloete for transfer of the property they had secured, to hear that as the erven and farms had not been *bona-fide* occupied, they had, therefore, reverted to the Government, and were now declared as crown lands. "The wagon and oxen or money and goods you gave for same can only be regarded as a dead loss to yourself," was the reply they got.

This was how the British Government in Natal introduced itself to the defeated Boers. Many and bitter were the tears shed by the thus oppressed and impoverished Boers.

Is Your Majesty, perhaps, acquainted with the fact that the Boers sent a delegate to lay their grievances before Your Majesty, who, after many weeks' traveling on horseback, reached Governor Pottinger and entreated him to listen to their complaints? But, Your Majesty, this emissary was not given an audience. Thus it was obvious to all that the doors had been closed at them to be heard, and that they would have to patiently tolerate all that befell them, without the slightest prospect of ever obtaining justice or relief. Is it a matter of wonder, Your Majesty, that under these circumstances every Boer took advantage of the first opportunity that was offered to leave the Colony of Natal and trek beyond the Drakensberg to a haven of rest, where there was no British authority and where they could live and die in peace?

It was upon these trek-Boers that various deceptions were practised in Your Majesty's name. They were called together by the late General Pretorius to meet the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, who, it was stated, wished personally to see the Boers and to learn what the majority desired. It was announced

that if the majority would remain under Her Majesty's rule he, the Governor, would give them land and would treat the minority with every degree of kindness and patience, always endeavoring to persuade them to be reconciled to British authority; but, on the other hand, should it appear that the majority were for freedom and antagonistic toward the authority of the British, they could go to perdition; Her Majesty's Government would not trouble itself further about them. On this pretext as many of the Boers as could were prevailed upon to proceed to Winburg, a newly laid-out village, for the purpose of meeting Sir Harry Smith. But how ineffably deceived were they, for instead of finding Sir Harry Smith and obtaining a peaceful settlement of all their grievances, an ultimatum was presented to them reading as follows: "Your headman or leader is a rebel. I have put a price of a thousand pounds on his head, and woe unto any of you who connive at his escape. I will treat such as rebels." Who can describe the feelings of disappointment and resentment that arose in the breasts of the Boers at these words, and to which can only be attributed what subsequently took place at Boomplaats on the 29th August, 1849? It is true that the forces of Sir Harry, reinforced by Basutos and Griquas, suffered a heavy reverse. The Boers, however, being armed only with flintlock guns, could not for long withstand a larger and better armed force, supported by cannon, and were eventually obliged to retreat, leaving six of their number dead on the field and several others prisoners in the hands of the English, none of whom we have ever seen again or heard of.

Thus ended this act in the drama of South Africa,

creating new miseries for the Boers, who could not immediately trek or escape in flight beyond the Vaal River, where the Portuguese had conceded them a tract of country, decimated of its native population by the raiding of Moselikatse, previous to his attack upon the Boers in 1836, and for which he had been severely punished already by Piet Uys and Hendrik Potgieter. The country had, so to say, been cleared by the Boers, and they now availed themselves of the permission given them by the Portuguese to settle down north of the Vaal River, where they immediately founded a village which they named Potchefstroom. Having built a church and jail, they proceeded with the election of a Parliament and the enactment of laws, etc.

It had by this time begun to dawn upon Her Majesty's Government that it was more politic to leave the Boer severely alone than to be everlastingly pursuing him from place to place like a small bird, hopping from branch to branch and tree to tree. With the object of assuring the Boers that they would not be interfered with north of the Vaal River, and could administer their own affairs, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, Mr. C. M. Owen, was sent, with the result that a convention was entered into on the 16th January, 1852, signed by Your Majesty's Commissioners, Major W. S. Hogg and Mr. C. M. Owen, the first three articles of which read somewhat as follows:

"Art. 1. Her Majesty's Commissioners, on behalf of the British Government, do absolutely guarantee to the emigrant Boers north of the Vaal River the right of administering their own affairs and of gov-

erning in accordance with their own laws, without interference whatsoever on the part of the British Government, and that no extension shall be made by the said Government north of the Vaal, with the additional assurance that it is the fervent desire of the British Government to maintain peace and free trade, and to promote a friendly understanding with the emigrant Boers occupying or still to occupy the said territory, and it is further understood that these terms are to be mutually adhered to.

"Art. 2. Should there arise any misunderstanding regarding the meaning of the word Vaalrivier, more particularly with respect to the tributaries of the Vaal, the question shall be decided by a mutually appointed commission.

"Art. 3. That Her Majesty's commissioners disavow all compacts of whatever nature with the colored nations north of the Vaal."

See also the protocol, which defines the boundary along the Vaal River and the Orange Free State right unto the sea. The British evidently concluded that the Orange Free State was not worthy of being retained by so wealthy and good a Government as that of England. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government sent Sir Russel Clark, on the 4th of February, 1854, to abolish the suzerainty and give the Boers absolute independence and free government.

This just action on the part of the British Government, Your Majesty, was lauded and magnified by the Boer, whose confidence in the equity of the British had revived. No one dare say aught detrimental to the English. No! an Englishman was as

good as any other man. This feeling toward the English can be testified to by the many soldiers who deserted hither, by every trader, and by the first gold-diggers in the country. Have not English persons served as members of our Executive Council and as Landdrosts? Have not Englishmen sat as members of our Volksraad? Yes! even several who did not understand Dutch. Did not perfect harmony, co-operation, confidence, and friendship prevail then between the Englishman and the Boer all over South Africa? Would not, in this way, all the people of South Africa, irrespective of nationality, soon have been blended into one common people or nation?

Whence came this antagonism, this disruption, then? Your Majesty, it is to be ascribed to the diamonds, to the Basutoland question — ask but Theophilus Shepstone—to what took place on the 12th of April, 1878. Yes! Lord Carnarvon knows, as also does Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Did the Boers not have to submit to the diamond fields south of the Vaal being taken from them? Was not the glory of having vanquished the Basutos, after a long and bloody struggle, and after having endured so much, snatched from the Orange Free State? Was not the trust assured them by the Convention abused when they were dispossessed of a stretch of country where the diamond mines were situated, and for which they were subsequently obliged to accept a sum of ninety thousand pounds sterling—a ridiculously inadequate sum, considering that in one week the value of the diamonds procured exceeded this amount? Was not the Transvaal annexed after all the native tribes had been subdued by the Boers? Did not the Boers for

three whole years implore Lord Carnarvon, and also later Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, as it were, on their knees, for a restitution of their rights, sending two deputations to England for that purpose, yet without obtaining the least hope of ever having their legitimate rights restored to them? It was, therefore, in desperation that the Boers resolved, on the 13th of December, 1880, at Paardekraal, to recall the Government to resume their official duties, which had been interrupted owing to the annexation, and to govern the people in accordance with the laws of the land.

Your Majesty is probably aware that when the country was annexed, on the 12th of April, 1877, against which act President Thomas Burgers, however, resolutely protested, a proclamation was printed at Pretoria in the name of the British, without let or hindrance from the side of the Boer. No! the Boers, notwithstanding their indignation at this great wrong, submitted to the law and preserved order, intending to petition Your Majesty against this manifestly unjust breach of the Convention, committed in the name of Your Majesty. They, therefore, without murmur, permitted the publication of the document. When, however, they wanted to have a proclamation printed, declaring to the world their rights, Major Clark ordered his men to open fire on them—and this without previous warning or the proclaiming of war—wounding two and killing one of their horses. Thus, on December 16, 1880, war was declared by England against the Boers, regardless of the Convention of 1852, wherein their independence, etc., etc., was guaranteed to them.

This was how the war, which lasted almost three months, originated.

The wretched Boers had no experienced soldiers, nor did they possess cannon, ammunition, modern weapons or a full treasury; indeed, they were almost destitute of food and clothing. They were armed only with antique flintlock guns, and had at the most a hundred rounds of ammunition. Their officers had but recently been chosen; the majority of them had never been under fire before, and, in fact, knew not what war meant. Such were the men who were now obliged to take up arms and to give battle. Against whom? Against Your Majesty? Against Great Britain? No! Your Majesty, happily not; but against those persons who, through misrepresentation, had beguiled the British Empire into the committal of a shameful deed, thereby seeking to cast a lasting reproach on Your Majesty's honored name, and that of the noble British race, at the same time straining to crush a people to whom Your Majesty had, by the terms of the Sand River Convention, etc., guaranteed their independence.

In this way the unfortunate struggle between the Boers and English came about. The Boers, perceiving that they could not move their pitiless oppressors by their protests and petitions, resolved to repurchase liberty with their blood. Although many more brave English soldiers fell than Boers, the loss of the Boer, however, was greater and more acutely felt, considering the status of the British soldier and how considerably it differs from that of the Boer. The Boer was fighting for his property, his home, and for his country. He is invariably the father of a family, and if he gets killed then he

leaves behind him a widow and children, or, perhaps, the only son of a widow or of aged and decrepit parents, whose support he was, is killed. A soldier knows none of these tender anxieties. He is instructed in the science of war, and thinks of nothing else; his greatest ambition is to carry out the orders of his commander and to gain a medal for bravery in the fight. They do not concern themselves with the question as to whether they are fighting in a good or bad, a just or unjust cause. No! it matters little to them. Those in high positions (who sit in safety) should know, for they have calculated how much glory and honor they can gain or purchase with the life and blood of the soldier, but they do not consider the amount of suffering and pain they inflict, and what their responsibility will be when they come before the judgment seat of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, before whom every one will one day have to stand, face to face with those who stood under their authority and were used to the destruction and downfall of others.

In this war, however, such was not the outcome, for, although the struggle was fierce and arduous and the Boers lost heavily, their God gave them the ultimate victory. There arose a man—Mr. Gladstone—at the head of affairs in Great Britain, an upright, God-fearing man, who could discern the directing finger of the Almighty, and was not too high-minded to acknowledge the same and boldly declare that righteousness exalteth a nation—his nation, Your Majesty's nation—while injustice and wrong-doing sully the fame of a nation. Actuated thereto by a generous and noble impulse, he caused the unjust war to cease, and restored the honor of

Great Britain by transforming an act of violence into a magnanimous deed. Peace was thereupon concluded at Lang's Nek, and the Boers might have again exulted at being in amity with Great Britain, although burdened now with a heavy debt—a liability which they respectfully protest they never incurred—an empty treasury, broken firearms, ammunition all spent, and a Convention that cannot be conformed with, which can be declared as infringed every day, with no impartial tribunal to determine one way or the other. The Boers were, however, free again, and they hoped it would now go better with them. They vainly imagined so, and frequently declared so. But, alas! Poor Transvaal! You have hardly survived one disaster when two others stand staring you in the face.

Unfortunately a rich gold mine has been discovered in your country. It is surely not meant for the poor down-trodden Boer. Poor and abandoned men soon began to flock to this New Eldorado, and were presently followed by a legion of unscrupulous speculators. Afterward certain ambitious capitalists arrived on the scene, who knew how to use their influence, and were indifferent as to what rôle they played or of what became of the country as long as they could increase their wealth tenfold. And to what end did they eventually apply their gold derived from the Transvaal mines? Let history tell Your Majesty, and it will prove that it was not devoted to the good of the country or the welfare of their fellow-men; but, to the contrary, to the detriment of the country whose hospitality they were enjoying.

Their object was to overthrow the Government

and to rob the people of their liberty, by force if necessary. As they had money in abundance, the proceeds of the gold they had won from the mines, they bought thousands of rifles and Maxim cannons—smuggled these, concealed in oil-casks, into the country for the purpose of using them against the people of the Transvaal to oust them out of their country, whither the capitalist had come and possessed himself of the gold fields. With this aim in view they had made a compact with one Cecil Rhodes to undertake a raid into the Transvaal, Dr. Jameson acting as the tool.

Behold! Your Majesty, the conduct of these men—the same men who are to-day clamoring about grievances. Yes! grievances which have made them rich, richer than ever any of the Voortrekkers was or any of their children will be.

They, then, who tried to overthrow the South African Republic, who stirred up strife in Johannesburg, on account of which many anxious and timid people fled from the city to escape probable hardships, are responsible for that dreadful railway accident in Natal, through which so many mothers and children lost their lives. They shall also have to answer before the judgment seat of God for the blood that was spilt during this contemptible Jameson raid. Here, again, Your Majesty, six Boers fell defending their rights and the independence of their country.

Thus have the Boers, from time to time, been aggravated and harassed.

But even in these troubles they were not deserted by their God, who gave them refuge and enabled them to prove to the world that they are a meek

and enlightened people; for, although they had it in their power to refuse to grant quarter or pardon to Jameson or his gang of freebooters, they did not shoot them down as, perhaps, another military force would have done, or even follow the example set them at Schlachtersnek. The thought alone that they were British subjects sufficed the Boers not to treat them according to their deserts, but to hand them over to the law officers of Your Majesty to be dealt with as Your Majesty deemed fit. And what are the thanks we get for our magnanimity in liberating Jameson, Rhodes' henchman? Instead of thanks we are cursed with the revival of the Johannesburg agitation of 1895 and 1896.

These are the men who, encouraged and assisted by Mr. Chamberlain, are trying once again to bring misery upon the Transvaal, and as a means to this end, and in order to mislead the generous British public, have caused a false document, stated to have been voluntarily signed by 21,000 oppressed aliens, to be addressed to Your Majesty. If Your Majesty would have that petition sent to Johannesburg to be publicly and impartially scrutinized, it would soon be made manifest how many thousands of the names appended thereto are of persons who had neither read nor seen it, and of numerous others who have long been dead. Armed with such a document they are now endeavoring to bring another calamity upon the Transvaal, and, perhaps, upon the whole of South Africa. Were such a scrutiny to take place, it could be positively proved that many whose names appear as signatories, rather than being against the continuance of the independence of the Transvaal, have grievances against the framers of that notori-

ous petition, and would like to bring them up for withholding their wages or ill-treatment. Such, we are sure, will faithfully stand by the Boers and fight for their adopted country; unlike the authors of that petition, whose guilty consciences are prompting them to leave the country or send their wives and money away to Natal or the Cape Colony. All this for fear of the consequences of their own wickedness. They have insured the works at their gold mines against damage, which they recklessly wish to cause to others. The wire-pullers of this vile scheme are Messrs. Rhodes, Chamberlain, and Jameson.

Your Majesty, what are we expected to do? We are told to-day they demand the franchise. Would it not be better for the people and for the independence of the country to give a vote to every raw Englishman, just arrived in the country, or even an army deserter, than to such unscrupulous capitalists and dishonest speculators, whose only object is to rob the South African Republic of its independence, in order to be enabled to do the same here with the gold mines as they did with the diamond mines at Kimberley under British rule?

Your Majesty, it was with a deep sense of pain at the critical state of affairs in South Africa that I commenced to write this letter, but my pain and indignation have been intensified by what I have lately read in the newspapers of Mr. Chamberlain and his statements anent the Transvaal, which he fondly hopes will be accepted as gospel truth by every one. He has never yet been in the Transvaal. I have been to London and yet I do not pretend to know all about it. Would it not be presumption on my part to think so? And does he alone know every-

thing about the Transvaal? No! Your Majesty. Now I see clearly that he has been misled, that he has believed in fiction; for how otherwise could he have uttered such language? Witness his bitter speech at Birmingham when he referred to the shooting of Edgar. Your Majesty, this man had struck another a mortal blow, and when the police tried to arrest him, he struck and almost killed one of them, who thereupon shot him dead. It was indeed a regrettable incident; but has it not often occurred at Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, that the English police have found it necessary to fire on an unarmed mob, thereby killing and wounding private citizens? And did ever any foreign minister dream of declaring war against England or make unreasonable demands on account of such action? Mr. Chamberlain is alarmed, forsooth, because a woman is murdered in the streets of Johannesburg—a circumstance which we all deplore, yet cannot discover the murderer. We have offered a reward of £500 to any one giving information that will lead to the conviction of the person who committed this crime, but up to the present we have failed in tracking the culprit. Now, Your Majesty, how many women were murdered in London by the so-called Jack the Ripper, who, notwithstanding Mr. Chamberlain, has never been caught? And yet who would ever dream of going to war with England because of this Jack the Ripper? Mr. Chamberlain, however, would set the whole of South Africa ablaze just because we have not captured a murderer, or because a jury has not convicted an Englishman in our police service of a certain murder.

Will Your Majesty permit a small, weak State,



P. J. JOUBERT,
Vice-President of the South African Republic and Commander-in-
Chief of the Burghers' Army.

that has time after time relinquished its rights, and has ever tried to live in peace and harmony with Your Majesty's people and Government, to be oppressed and overthrown by the world-renowned power and might of Great Britain, simply owing to the misrepresentations of the persons I have already mentioned?

Such is the inquiry of one who considers it an honor and privilege to extol Your Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Empress of India, and to acknowledge the generosity of the British nation and of several British statesmen.

No! Your Majesty, ever in supplication to the Almighty, who ruleth over Kings and Princes, and inclineth all to His great will, I, Your Majesty's humble petitioner, will never believe that Your Majesty will suffer the sacred rights of a weak, peace-loving people to be violated in your name, and South Africa to be cast into grief and mourning. To the contrary, I pray Your Majesty that peace, rest, prosperity, union, and co-operation will reign in Your Majesty's name throughout South Africa, and endure as long as there remains a Boer or an Englishman on earth.

Such is the wish and prayer of

Your Majesty's most humble petitioner.

P. J. JOUBERT.

A PROCLAMATION TO THE ORANGE FREE STATE BURGHERS.

BURGHERS OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE: The time which we had so much desired to avoid, the moment when we as a nation are compelled with arms to oppose injustice and shameless violence, is at hand. Our sister Republic to the north of the Vaal River is about to be attacked by an unscrupulous enemy, who for many years has prepared himself, and sought pretexts for the violence of which he is now guilty, whose purpose it is to destroy the existence of the Afrikaner race.

With our sister Republic we are not only bound by ties of blood, of sympathy and of common interest, but also by formal treaty, which has been necessitated by circumstances. This treaty demands of us that we assist her if she should be unjustly attacked, which we, unfortunately, for a long time have had too much reason to expect. We, therefore, cannot passively look on while injustice is done her, and while also our own dearly bought freedom is endangered, but are called as men to resist, trusting the Almighty, firmly believing that He will never permit injustice and unrighteousness to triumph.

Now that we thus resist a powerful enemy, with whom it has always been our honest desire to live in

friendship, notwithstanding injustice and wrong done by him to us in the past, we solemnly declare, in the presence of the Almighty God, that we are compelled thereto by the injustice done to our kinsmen, and by the consciousness that the end of their independence will make our existence as an independent State of no significance, and that their fate, should they be obliged to bend under an overwhelming power, will also soon after be our own fate.

Solemn treaties have not protected our sister Republic against annexation; against conspiracy; against the claim of an abolished suzerainty; against the continuous oppression and interference, and now against a renewed attack, which aims only at her downfall.

Our own unfortunate experiences in the past have also made it sufficiently clear to us that we cannot rely on the most solemn promises and agreements of Great Britain, when she has at her helm a Government prepared to trample on treaties, to look for feigned pretexts for every violation of good faith by her committed. This is proved among other things by the unjust and unlawful British intervention, after we had overcome an armed and barbarous black tribe on our eastern frontier, as also by the forcible appropriation of the dominion over part of our territory where the discovery of diamonds had caused the desire for this appropriation, although contrary to existing treaties.

The desire and intention to trample on our rights as an independent and sovereign nation, notwithstanding a solemn convention existing between this State and Great Britain, have also been more than once, and are now again, shown by the present Gov-

ernment by giving expression in public documents to an unfounded claim of paramountcy over the whole of South Africa, and, therefore, also over this State.

With regard to the South Africa Republic, Great Britain has, moreover, refused until the present to allow her to regain her original position in respect to foreign affairs, a position which she had lost in no sense by her own faults. The original intention of conventions, to which the Republic has consented under pressure of circumstances, has been perverted and continually been used by the present British administration as a means for the practice of tyranny and of injustice, and, among other things, for the support of a revolutionary propaganda within the Republic in favor of Great Britain.

And while no redress has been offered, as justice demands, for injustice done to the South Africa Republic on the part of the British Government, and while no gratitude is exhibited for the magnanimity shown at the request of the British Government to British subjects who had forfeited under the laws of the Republic their lives and property, yet no feeling of shame has prevented the British Government, now that the gold mines of immense value have been discovered in the country, to make claims of the Republic, the consequence of which, if allowed, will be that those who, or whose forefathers have saved the country from barbarism and have won it for civilization with their blood and their tears, will lose their control over the interests of the country, to which they are justly entitled according to divine and human laws. The consequence of these claims would be, moreover, that the greater part of the

power will be placed in the hands of those who, foreigners by birth, enjoy the privilege of depriving the country of its chief treasure, while they have never shown any loyalty to a foreign government.

Besides, the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of these claims would be that the independence of the country as a self-governing, independent sovereign republic would be irreparably lost. For years past British troops in great numbers have been placed on the frontiers of our sister republic in order to compel her by fear to accede to the demand which would be pressed upon her, and in order to encourage revolutionary disturbances and the cunning plans of those whose greed for gold is the cause of their shameless undertakings.

Those plans have now reached their climax in the open violence to which the present British Government now resorts. While we readily acknowledge the honorable character of thousands of Englishmen, who loathe such deeds of robbery and wrong, we cannot but abhor the shameless breaking of treaties, the feigned pretexts for the transgression of law, the violation of international law and of justice, and the numerous right-rending deeds of the British statesmen, who will now force a war upon the South African Republic. On their heads be the guilt of blood, and may a just Providence reward all as they deserve.

Burgbers of the Orange Free State, rise as one man against the oppressor and the violator of right.

In the strife, to which we are now driven, have a care to commit no act unworthy of a Christian and of a Burgher of the Orange Free State. Let us look forward with confidence to a fortunate end of this

conflict, trusting to that Higher Power, without whose help human weapons are of no avail.

May He bless our arms. Under His banner we advance to battle for liberty and for Fatherland.

M. T. STEIN,
State President.

OFFICIAL DESPATCHES

EXCHANGED BETWEEN PRESIDENT STEIN AND THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

THE following despatches have been exchanged between His Honor President Stein and His Excellency Sir Alfred Milner:

I.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, State President,
Bloemfontein :*

19th Sept.—I have the honor to inform Your Honor that it has been deemed advisable by the Imperial military authorities to send a detachment of the troops, ordinarily stationed at Cape Town, to assist in securing the line of communication between the Colony and the British territories lying to the north of it. As this force, or a portion of it, may be stationed near the borders of the Orange Free State, I think it desirable to acquaint Your Honor with this movement, and the reasons for it, in order to prevent any misconception on the part of the Burghers of the Orange Free State, of the object which the military authorities have in view. The movement in question is in no way directed against the Orange Free State, nor is it due to any anxiety as to the intentions of the latter, as I rest fully satisfied with the declarations on this point contained in Your

Honor's telegram of August 16 last. I take this opportunity of making a general statement of the attitude of H. M. Govt. at the present juncture which in view of the many current misapprehensions on the subject, H. M. Govt. have authorized me to convey to Your Honor. H. M. Govt. are still hopeful of a friendly settlement of the differences which have arisen between them and the South African Republic: but should this hope unfortunately be disappointed, H. M. Govt. look to the Government of the Orange Free State to preserve strict neutrality and to prevent any military intervention by any of its citizens, and are prepared to give formal assurances that in that case the integrity of the Orange Free State Territory will be strictly respected under all circumstances. As far as H. M. Govt. are aware, there is absolutely no cause to justify any disturbance of friendly relations between Great Britain and the Orange Free State. Her Majesty's Government are animated by the most friendly sentiments toward the Orange Free State, and it is entirely untrue that they desire to impair the independence of that Republic.

II.

State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :

19th Sept.—Your Excellency's telegram of this day. I share with Your Excellency the hopefulness of a friendly settlement of the differences which have arisen between H. M. Government and the S. A. R. being still arrived at. I cannot even now see that those differences justify the use of force as the only

solution thereof. Both on this account and seeing the existing state of tension here and elsewhere in South Africa, I note with apprehension and regret the intention of H. M. Government to send a detachment of the troops ordinarily stationed at Cape Town northward with a view to having some or a portion thereof stationed near the border of this State. While this Government will continue to do all in its power to allay excitement, I cannot help impressing upon Your Excellency the fact that, if the proposed course be pursued, following as it will on other military preparations, near our borders, it will not improbably be considered by our Burghers as a menace to this State, and will in any case and naturally create a very strong feeling of distrust and unrest among them. If unwished for developments should arise therefrom, the responsibility will not rest with this Government. I will submit Your Excellency's telegram to the Volksraad early in its session, which opens on Thursday next, and meanwhile beg to assure Your Excellency that this Government would view with deep regret any disturbance of those friendly relations which hitherto existed between Great Britain and this State.

III.

*High Commissioner, Cape Town, State President,
Bloemfontein :*

20th Sept.—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Honor's telegram of yesterday. I propose to publish the telegram which I addressed to Your Honor. Does Your Honor desire that I should at the same time publish your reply?

IV.

State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :

20th Sept.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of this day. I contemplate, as stated yesterday, submitting Your Excellency's telegram to the Volksraad if possible to-morrow, and at the same time to inform it of my reply thereto. I have no objection to my reply to Your Excellency being published.

V.

State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :

25th Sept.—I have this day received information that considerable body of troops are being moved northward along and nearer our border, from Ladysmith by rail. With a view to allaying undue excitement, I trust and would be pleased to learn from Your Excellency that the report is devoid of truth.

VI.

From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein :

25th Sept.—Your Honor's telegram of to-day. Governor of Natal informs me that some troops are being moved from Ladysmith to Glencoe, and will be replaced at Ladysmith by troops from Maritzburg. There is no advance toward the borders of the Orange Free State, nor is there any justification

for alarm. I am not aware of any change in the situation since my telegram to Your Honor of the 19th. I adhere to the hope therein expressed as regards differences between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic and repeat the assurance given to the Orange Free State.

VII.

State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :

27th Sept.—I have the honor to communicate, for information of Your Excellency and H. M.'s Government, the following resolution, this day unanimously adopted by the Volksraad. Translated begins:

"The Volksraad having heard the second paragraph of His Honor's opening speech and the official documents and correspondence relating thereto which have been handed in;

"Having regard to the strained state of affairs in South Africa, which has arisen in consequence of the differences between the Governments of the South African Republic and H. B. Majesty's, which constitute a threatening danger for bringing about hostilities, the calamitous effects of which would be incalculable for all white inhabitants of South Africa;

"Being bound to the South African Republic by the closest bonds of blood and alliance, and standing in a most friendly relationship toward Her British Majesty's Government;

"Fearing that should a war break out a hatred would be generated between the European races in South Africa, which still, in the far future, will im-

pede and restrain the peaceful development of all the States and Colonies of South Africa;

"Being sensible that the serious obligation rests upon the Volksraad to do all that is possible to prevent the shedding of blood;

"Considering that in the course of negotiations with the British Government, which have extended over several months, every endeavor has been made by the Government of the South African Republic to arrive at a peaceful solution of the differences which have been brought forward by the Uitlanders in the S. A. Republic, and which have been adopted as its own cause by the Government of H. B. Majesty, which endeavors unfortunately have only had the result that British troops have been concentrated upon the borders of the South African Republic, and are still continually being reinforced;

"Resolves to instruct the Government still further to do everything in their power to preserve and establish peace and to contribute by peaceful methods toward the solution of the existing differences, provided that can be brought about without injury to the Honor and Independence of this State or of the South African Republic, and wishes unmistakably to declare its opinion that there exists no cause for war, and that if a war is now begun or occasioned by H. B. Majesty's Government against the South African Republic this will morally be a war against the whole white population of South Africa, and would in its results be calamitous and criminal. Further, that the Orange Free State will honestly and faithfully observe its obligations toward the South African Republic arising out of the political alliance between the two Republics, whatever may happen."

VIII.

From State President, Bloemfontein, to His Excellency the High Commissioner, Cape Town:

27th Sept.—In view of the ever-increasing gravity of the situation and the strained relations unfortunately existing between the Government of Great Britain and of the S. A. Republic, I deem it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to address H. M.'s Government through Your Excellency.

The Free State Government, as H. M.'s Government are aware, is bound both to the people of the S. A. Republic and of the neighboring British Colonies by ties of blood and friendship. It is in addition bound on the one hand to the S. A. Republic by a solemn treaty, in which this State has undertaken to assist the Sister Republic in the event of its Independence being threatened or attacked, while on the other side there exists between it and the British Government and the Governments of the neighboring British Colonies long established and highly appreciated amicable relations. It has ever been and still is the aim and object of Free State Policy heartily to support and continually to foster any measures tending to maintain not only, but to increase the spirit of harmony and co-operation among the Colonies and States of South Africa and their respective Governments, and it would most deeply regret the occurrence of any untoward event that would cause a break in the cordial relations hitherto so happily subsisting between this State and all its neighbors.

It is this strong feeling of good will and amity toward both the Government of Great Britain and

of the S. A. Republic, between whom relations have now for some time been unfortunately, but, as I trust, only temporarily strained, that led me to bring about the Conference between Your Excellency and President Kruger in May last. I acted in the hope that thereby the basis for a good understanding and harmonious co-operation in the future might have been arrived at. That Conference terminated without effecting the desired results, and ever since then this Government has been unceasing in its efforts and has done all in its power to obtain a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the differences between H. M.'s Government and the S. A. Republic, by influencing the Government of the S. A. Republic to make most important reforms in the matter of Franchise and representation for British subjects who are desirous of becoming burghers of that Republic.

In pressing those Franchise and representation reforms and concessions, this Government kept in view the spirit that animated Your Excellency at the Conference and in which they assumed that the British Government also was willing to act, viz., "to adopt an attitude of friendly suggestion and not of dictation in the internal affairs of the Republic." When it is borne in mind what the position was both in regard to the question of Franchise and of representation in the S. A. Republic at the time of the Conference, and what radical reforms have been effected by the Government and Legislature of that country in the comparatively short time that has elapsed since that date, I think it may be fairly claimed that our efforts, aided by the representations of other friends of peace and harmony in

South Africa, have been crowned with a large measure of success.

While the Government of the S. A. Republic, encouraged thereto by the advice of the Free State and other friends, were busy inducing the Legislature and people of that Republic to accept reform in the direction suggested and desired by H. M.'s Government, and intended to meet the alleged wants of the Uitlander population, and even before the proposal was made by the British Government, that the Franchise Law and scheme of increased representation for the Witwatersrand Goldfields should be submitted to a Joint Commission for examination and report, this Government could not be blind to the fact that the tone of the despatches had altered, and that the British Government had, in fact, departed from the basis on which negotiations were opened: that of not interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic. The request for the Joint Commission of Inquiry emphasized that fact beyond any shadow of doubt. Notwithstanding this the Government of the O. F. State, in the hope that an impartial investigation might inaugurate a renewal of the employment of friendly methods tending toward a satisfactory solution of the questions in difference, and adopting the friendly suggestion received from several quarters, once more advised the Government of the S. A. Republic to make yet another concession, and to give yet another proof of its willingness to meet the British Government, by consenting to accept the invitation of the British Government to take part in such a Joint Commission; this advice was adopted, and at last it seemed that the efforts of the friends of peace and harmony in South Africa

stood a fair chance of being crowned with success. Great, therefore, was the disappointment of the Government and people of this State when it transpired that, from causes with which I am still unacquainted, our best efforts, culminating in the acceptance by the S. A. Republic of the proposals of the British Government for a Joint Commission of Inquiry on the seven years Franchise Law and adopted increased representation scheme, proved unavailing, and that the unfortunate tension seemed, as it seems now, to be only increasing.

This Government are still prepared, and tender their services to further the interests of peace, and to continue in their endeavors to procure a satisfactory solution of existing difficulties on fair and reasonable lines: they feel themselves, however, hampered now as in the past:

a. By a want of knowledge as to the definite object and extent of the desires or demands of the British Government, compliance with which that Government consider themselves entitled to insist upon, and as to the grounds on which such insistence is based.

b. By the fact that, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the British Government that it did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the S. A. Republic nor to disturb its independence, it has pursued a policy which seems to justify a contrary conclusion.

To give but one instance, which could not be otherwise than calculated to be a most disturbing element in the conduct of negotiations, I may mention the enormous and ever-increasing military preparations on the part of the British Government,

indicating a policy of force and coercion during the whole course of negotiations which were stated to be of a friendly and conciliatory nature, those preparations, in the absence of any apparent cause justifying the same, being not unnaturally looked upon as a direct menace to the S. A. Republic. After all that has been done by the S. A. Republic to meet the wishes of H. M.'s Government for a Joint Commission to inquire into the scope and effect of those measures, and whether immediate and substantial representation would thereby be assured to the Uitlanders willing to avail themselves of the provisions thereof, this Government cannot conceive it possible that the points of difference that may exist on this subject justify those extensive and ever-increasing military preparations being carried out on the borders, not only of the S. A. Republic, but also of the O. F. State, and it is, therefore, reluctantly compelled to conclude that they must be intended to secure other objects at present unknown to the Government of this State, and the knowledge whereof, if they prove to be fair and reasonable, might induce this Government to make necessary representations to secure their attainment and enable them to continue their efforts to secure a speedy, peaceful, and satisfactory solution of the difficulties and differences existing between H. M.'s Government and the Government of the S. A. Republic. I beg to add that I am firmly convinced (and feel sure that any reasonable assurance could be obtained), that the Government of the S. A. Republic have been sincerely desirous to maintain in its integrity the Convention of 1884, both as regards its letter and its spirit, and that they do not contemplate or assert a claim to any

absolute political status without the qualification arising out of Art. 4 of that Convention, and accordingly it does not appear to me that there is any misunderstanding hereon that could not promptly and without difficulty be settled. I feel assured that there is no difference between their contention on that point and the communication made on behalf of H. M.'s Government by H. M.'s High Commissioner to the Governments, both of the S. A. Republic and of this State, on the 27th February, 1884, as to the import of that Convention. That communication was as follows: "Same complete internal independence in Transvaal as in the Orange Free State. Conduct and control intercourse, Foreign Governments conceded. Queen's final approval Treaties reserved."

In the expectation that H. M.'s Government will share my views that no effort should be spared to effect a peaceable settlement, if possible, of the points in difference between them and S. A. Republic, and that consequently all causes of irritation likely to delay or prevent such settlement should be removed or at least not be aggravated, I trust that H. M.'s Government may see their way clear pending the arrival of the further despatch intimated as about to be sent to the Government of the S. A. Republic, and pending further negotiations, to stop any further movements or increase of troops on or near the borders of the S. A. Republic and of this State, and further to give an assurance to that effect to allay the great excitement and irritation naturally aroused and increased thereby, and if H. M.'s Government should be pleased to accede to this request, this Government would be glad to be favored with



M. T. STEYN,
President of the Orange Free State.

the views of H. M.'s Government on the points raised herein, and more particularly as to the precise nature and scope of the concessions or measures, the adoption whereof H. M.'s Government consider themselves entitled to claim or which they suggest as being necessary or sufficient to insure a satisfactory and permanent solution of existing differences between them and the S. A. Republic, while at the same time providing a means for settling any others that may arise in the future.

(Sig.)

M. T. STEYN,
State President.

IX.

High Commissioner, Cape Town, His Honor State President, Bloemfontein :

28th Sept.—I beg to acknowledge your Honor's two telegrams received last night, the contents of which I have communicated to H. M.'s Government.

X.

State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :

2d Oct.—I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have deemed it advisable in order to allay the intense excitement and unrest among our Burghers arising from the totally undefended state of our Borders in the presence and continued increase and movement of troops on two sides of this State, to call up our Burghers to satisfy them that due precautions have been taken in regard to guarding our Borders and to insure their not acting independently of proper control. I am still strongly and sincerely

desirous of seeing and, if possible, aiding in a friendly settlement of the differences between H. M. Government and the S. A. Republic being arrived at. I am still looking forward soon to be favored with the views of H. M. Government on the points touched upon in my telegraphic despatch to Your Excellency of the 27th ult., receipt whereof was acknowledged by Your Excellency on the following day.

XI.

High Commissioner, Cape Town, His Honor State President, Bloemfontein.

2d October—I have the honor to acknowledge Your Honor's telegram of to-day, the terms of which I am communicating to H. M. Government. With reference to the movements of troops to which you refer, I can only repeat the assurances given in my telegrams of the 19th and 25th September. I regret that Your Honor should have felt obliged to order up a large body of Burghers and to place them immediately on our Borders, whereas no Imperial troops have been so placed on the Borders of the Orange Free State, except the small detachment engaged in the defence of Kimberley, but as Your Honor has seen fit to take this course, I am glad to have Your Honor's assurance that your forces will be held in proper control. As Your Honor is aware, the Government of the S. A. Republic has mobilized and placed upon the Borders of Natal a very considerable army and made dispositions which, unwilling as I am to believe such action possible, seem to indicate an immediate invasion of the Queen's dominions. In view of the repeated declaration of Your

Honor I feel confident that any invasion of H. M. territories by the S. A. Republic would not have the countenance and support of Your Honor's Government, all the more so as Your Honor continues to express the hope of a peaceful settlement, of which I likewise do not despair. I hope to be able very shortly to communicate to you the reply of H. M. Government to your telegram of the 27th of September.

XII.

State President, Bloemfontein, His Excellency High Commissioner, Cape Town :

2d October.—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of this afternoon. I cannot help, regretfully, expressing my conviction that the action of the Transvaal in putting Burghers on their Borders is only the natural result, all along feared by me, of the constant increase of British troops and their movement in the direction of Transvaal Border. At the same time I have no reason to anticipate any immediate aggressive action on part of Transvaal, unless further forward movement of British troops should indicate intention of attack on Transvaal. I beg to urge upon Your Excellency the necessity of trying both to expedite the reply to my telegraphic despatch and to prevent further movement of troops.

XIII.

High Commissioner, Cape Town, State President, Bloemfontein :

3rd Oct.—I have the honor to acknowledge Your Honor's telegram of yesterday evening. Your

Honor must be perfectly aware that all the movements of British troops which have taken place in this country since the beginning of present troubles, and which have been necessitated by the natural alarm of the inhabitants in exposed districts, are not comparable in magnitude with the recent massing of armed forces of the S. A. Republic on the borders of Natal. I do not suggest that Your Honor is in any way responsible for that action, which appears to me inconsistent with the tone of Your Honor's telegram of the 27th September, in which you expressed your conviction that a peaceful settlement of difficulties was still possible and ought to be arrived at.

XIV.

*State President, Bloemfontein, High Commissioner,
Cape Town :*

3rd Oct.—I have the honor to acknowledge Your Excellency's telegram of this morning. I am as sincerely and strongly desirous as ever to see a speedy, peaceful, and satisfactory solution being arrived at, and to do all that lies in my power to try even yet to attain that result. I deem it my duty, however, to state emphatically that I do not consider that the movements of British troops which have taken place in this country since the beginning of the present troubles have been necessitated by the natural alarm of the inhabitants in exposed districts, nor, in fact, have I ever thought that there were any fair grounds justifying such movements. On the contrary, I have never for a moment had or expressed any other view than that the ever-increasing military preparations, which both in England

and in South Africa have all along accompanied protestations for a desire to arrive at peaceful and friendly settlement, retarded and hampered the efforts of myself and all those who were sincerely working to maintain peace and effect fair settlement. To the bitter and hostile tone of the utterances made both by responsible men and by almost the whole English press in South Africa and in England, bristling with misrepresentation and constant menace to the Transvaal, accompanied by ever-increasing military preparations on an extensive scale, not only in South Africa and in England, but throughout the British Empire, which are openly stated as being directed against and intended to coerce the Transvaal, I mainly attribute the failure hitherto of arriving at an amicable and satisfactory solution of existing difficulties. I wish to place on record my earnest conviction, that on those in authority, who introduced the military element, and who thereby inaugurated and have since continued a policy of menace and forcible intervention, will rest the responsibility, should all efforts fail to secure peace and an honorable settlement of differences. After the proofs already given by the Transvaal since the Conference, to meet the views and wishes of the British Government, I consider the constant and systematic attempts to throw the blame for the present critical situation of affairs on the S. A. Republic unjust to and undeserved by the latter.

While I am not responsible for, but, on the contrary, for a long time successfully used my best endeavors to prevent the massing of burghers by the Government of the S. A. Republic on their borders, I cannot but recognize the fact that in view of the

action of the British authorities already alluded to, the Transvaal Government cannot be blamed for acting as they have done. I am the more confirmed in this view by the fact that while I am still without any reply to my telegraphic despatch of the 27th ult., and in which I expressed my conviction as quoted by Your Excellency, the reasonable request therein made that the increase and further movement of British troops should be stayed, and which, if acceded to, would probably have prevented the calling out of the burghers both in the S. A. Republic and in this State, has not only been ignored, but activity in military preparations and the despatch of troops have been going on more persistently than ever.

I am not in a position to judge whether the movement of British troops on the Border of the S. A. Republic is comparable or not in magnitude with the recent massing of armed forces of the S. A. Republic on their Borders, but Your Excellency should not lose sight of the fact that on all sides in the English press and otherwise the assertion constantly finds expression that the British troops already in this Country, with their superior armament and discipline, are more than a match for the undisciplined Burgher force of the Republic, are intended forthwith to enforce British demands on the Transvaal, and that moreover troops are being despatched almost daily from England, and military preparations are in active and constant progress which are utterly incompatible with the requirements of defence, and which would seem to more than sufficiently justify a conviction, in the minds of the Burghers of the S. A. Republic, that England has abandoned any idea of attempting any longer to arrive at a solution of

differences, except by force. I trust that Your Excellency will receive this communication in the spirit in which it is honestly intended, namely, to put the facts of the case and the situation, as I see them, at this most critical time, clearly before you so as to prevent any misunderstanding, not only, but in the hopes that by a clear comprehension of the views I hold as to the causes which have brought about the present crisis, Your Excellency may the better be enabled to form a judgment not based on ex-parte information only. I feel deeply impressed with the danger of delay, and with the urgent need of immediate action being taken if any further attempts are to be made to secure a peaceful solution. Once again I tender my best services toward the attainment of that object, but I fear that these will probably be useless and unavailing if not accompanied or preceded by the assurance requested in mine of 27th ult.

XV.

From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to His Honor the State President, Bloemfontein :

4th Oct.—No. 2.—I have the honor to acknowledge Your Honor's long telegram of yesterday afternoon, the substance of which I have communicated by wire to H. M.'s Government. There is, I think, a conclusive reply to Your Honor's accusations against the policy of H. M.'s Government; but no good purpose could be served by recrimination. The present position is that burgher forces are assembled in very large numbers in immediate proximity to the frontiers of Natal, while the British troops occupy certain defensive positions well within those borders. The

question is whether the burgher forces will invade British territory, thus closing the door to any possibility of a pacific solution. I cannot believe that the S. A. Republic will take such aggressive action, or that Your Honor would countenance such a course, which there is nothing to justify. Prolonged negotiations have hitherto failed to bring about a satisfactory understanding, and no doubt such understanding is more difficult than ever to-day after expulsion of British subjects with great loss and suffering. But till the threatened act of aggression is committed I shall not despair of peace, and I feel sure that any reasonable proposal, from whatever quarter proceeding, would be favorably considered by H. M.'s Government, if it offered an immediate termination of the present tension and prospect of permanent tranquillity.

XVI.

From State President, Bloemfontein, to His Excellency the High Commissioner, Cape Town :

5th Oct.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram No. 2, of yesterday evening. I note with pleasure that Your Excellency does not despair of peace, and that you feel sure that any reasonable proposal, from whatever quarter proceeding, would be favorably considered by H. M. Government, if it offered an immediate termination of the present tension and a prospect of permanent tranquillity. I see no reason why such proposals should not be forthcoming, and I myself am prepared actively to assist to bring about the indicated and desirable result. I must, however, point

out that it seems to me it would be most difficult to attempt to make friendly proposals or continue to negotiate while the armed forces on both sides remain in menacing positions now occupied by them, but above all do I consider it would not be practicable to induce the Government of the S. A. Republic to make or entertain proposals or suggestions, unless not only the troops menacing their State are withdrawn further from their border, but an assurance be given by H. M. Government that all further despatch and increase of troops will at once, and during negotiations, be stopped, and that those now on the water should either not be landed or, at least, should remain as far removed as can be from the scene of possible hostilities. I trust Your Excellency will agree with me that these suggestions are only reasonable, as it would be manifestly unfair should further negotiations prove abortive—a result which I would earnestly endeavor to prevent and which I trust need not be anticipated—that the forces of the S. A. Republic should be in a worse position or at a greater disadvantage than they are at present. I must urge upon Your Excellency the urgent necessity of intimating to me without delay whether Your Excellency sees your way clear to give effect to these my views and wishes, and if so, I would be prepared to take steps at once and try and obtain any needful assurance to safeguard against any act of invasion of or hostility against any portion of H. M. Colonies or territories pending negotiations. If these preliminary but absolutely essential matters can be regulated between this and to-morrow, I would be further prepared to aid, if possible, in formulating and heartily to assist in

dealing with and supporting any reasonable proposals which shall possess the element of finality and give the assurance of immediate and lasting peace. A reply to the request made in the very last part of my telegraphic despatch to Your Excellency of 27th ultimo would enable me to judge in how far it would be possible for me to support the requests or requirements of H. M. Government in reopening negotiations with the Transvaal.

In regard to another point, touched upon by your Excellency in your telegram under reply, I have no information before me from which I can infer that H. M. subjects have been expelled with great loss and suffering from the S. A. Republic. The report, no doubt, has its origin, like many others, in the exaggerated statements of persons leaving that country in a panic.

XVII.

From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein :

6th Oct.—With reference to Your Honor's telegram of yesterday, I must demur to Your Honor's statement that British troops are in menacing positions. I regret that Your Honor should suggest as a condition precedent to further negotiations an assurance from H. M.'s Government hampering their freedom of action with regard to the disposition of British troops for defensive purposes in British territory. Such an assurance it is impossible for me to ask H. M.'s Government to give. If on the other hand Your Honor can obtain an assurance that, pending negotiations, no act of hostility will be com-

mitted against any of H. M.'s possessions, I am prepared to advise H. M.'s Government to give an assurance to the like effect.

XVIII.

From State President, Bloemfontein, to High Commissioner, Cape Town :

6th Oct.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of to-day. I am earnestly desirous of meeting any reasonable suggestion that may tend to a continuance of friendly negotiations and to avert an issue for which, as I have frequently stated, I see no justification whatever. I trust that Your Excellency will, on reconsideration, see that the Government of the S. A. Republic, in only taking proper precautions for the future, might fairly decline, and I do not feel I could be expected to ask them to continue negotiations in the face of the fact that from all sides of H. M.'s Dominions troops are being poured into South Africa with the avowed object of coercing the S. A. Republic into accepting whatever terms H. M.'s Government might decide to impose. I have no doubt in so far as H. M.'s troops are intended for the defence of H. M.'s possessions the same purpose, viz., fully safeguarding those possessions from invasion and subjects from molestation, could be effected. I would be willing to assist in its being effected without one side finding itself put at a great disadvantage during and because of further negotiations. The assurance asked for by Your Excellency could, I have no doubt, be obtained and satisfactorily arranged; but the point that I think it fair to urge is that it would

be taken by the S. A. Republic as virtually amounting to an act of hostility on the part of Her Majesty's Government to be continuously and extensively increasing its forces during negotiation when all need for defensive measures can, as I firmly believe, be fully obviated without such increase.

XIX.

From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein :

7th Oct.—With reference to Your Honor's telegram of Sept. 27th, I am instructed by H. M.'s Government to inform Your Honor that H. M.'s Government have repeatedly explained their views on the questions at issue between them and the Government of the S. A. Republic, and especially in the note addressed to that Government, on September 12th. Her Majesty's Government do not think their position open to misunderstanding, but if Your Honor desires the elucidation of any specific point in their proposals, H. M.'s Government are prepared to give it.

As regards their military preparations, these have been necessitated by the action of the Government of the S. A. Republic, in converting that country into an armed camp. In view of the rejection of their last proposals by the Government of the S. A. Republic, H. M.'s Government are reconsidering the situation, having regard to the grave fact that both Republics have now placed themselves on a war footing. While intending shortly to put forward new proposals of their own, H. M.'s Government would even now be prepared to consider any

definite suggestion from Your Honor for the termination of the present crisis, provided it was not inconsistent with the attempt of the objects avowed and pursued by them.

The above was received before Your Honor's telegram of yesterday afternoon, to which I will reply immediately.

XX.

From High Commissioner, Cape Town, to State President, Bloemfontein:

7th October.—I have the honor to acknowledge Your Honor's telegram of yesterday afternoon. With every desire to relieve the strain of the present situation, I cannot go beyond the suggestions made by me in my telegram of yesterday morning. I have no right to attempt to influence Your Honor as to what advice it would be reasonable for you to give to the Government of the South African Republic, having regard to the impending increase of Her Majesty's forces in South Africa. My object, in all the communications which have passed between us since Your Honor's telegram of 2d October, has been to leave nothing undone which could prevent action on the part of the South African Republic calculated to make a pacific solution finally impossible. But I cannot, even with that object ask Her Majesty's Government to pledge themselves either with regard to the disposition of troops within British territory in South Africa or to their despatch thither from other parts of the Empire.

THE BOER GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

26th September, 1899.

SIR: The Government of the South African Republic has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of a certain despatch dated 10th May, 1899, addressed to His Excellency the High Commissioner by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in consequence of a petition sent to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. 21,684 signatures appear on this petition, and are said to have been affixed thereto by an equivalent number of British subjects resident at Johannesburg, in this Republic.

This Government notes that Her Majesty's Government have thought fit, on the grounds of the information already in their possession, to make investigation into the subject-matter of the aforesaid petition, and, as a result of such investigation, to express to this Government their views on the administration of the internal affairs of this Republic, which said views they have at the same time communicated to the memorialists as an answer to their petition.

This Government may be permitted to point out that the Convention of London of 1884, entered into between this Republic and the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, guarantees to the South African Republic full and free internal administration with-

out any interference from any one whatever. As Lord Derby notifies in his despatch of the 15th February, 1884:

"Your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse, and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the fourth article of the new draft—that any treaty with a foreign State shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

In his despatch of the 4th February, 1896, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, states:

"In the next place, it is necessary that I should state clearly and unequivocally what is the position which Her Majesty's Government claim to hold toward the Government of the South African Republic. Since the Convention of 1884, Her Majesty's Government recognized the South African Republic as a free and independent Government as regards all its internal affairs not touched by the Convention."

In a telegram, also from Mr. Chamberlain, dated 26th March, 1896, the same statement is substantially made, viz.: "Her Majesty's Government do not claim any rights under the Conventions to prescribe particular internal reforms which should be made in South African Republic."

This Government has always felt it a solemn duty for the Republic to adhere strictly to the Convention of 1884 in its entirety; at the same time, it has been consistent in protesting in the most forcible manner against any interference or intermeddling with the internal affairs of the Republic, and against the discussion or treatment of these affairs with or

by any other than the Republic itself, and it can discover no reasons now which would either justify such interference or exempt it from the accusation of being a violation of the Convention of London.

This Government feels convinced that Her Majesty's Government would not favorably entertain a request from British subjects for intervention because the said British subjects are unwilling (as was agreed between this Republic and Her Majesty's Government in the Convention of London) to conform themselves to the laws of the land and to respect the legal institutions and customs of the South African Republic, and because they feel aggrieved that the laws are not altered in accordance with their demands.

The friendly relations so highly prized by this Government which have existed between this Republic and the United Kingdom, the other party to the Convention of London, have always been a safe guarantee to this Government against such a breach of the Convention on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and it greatly deplores the fact that Her Majesty's Government has now decided to act in conflict with the Convention of London by busying itself with the imaginary grievances of the Uitlanders, and making representations there anent to this Government. Against such action this Government feels that it must earnestly and emphatically protest, and the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain could not take it amiss if this Government were to pay no further attention to the charges against its administration contained in the petition, or if they declined to discuss further the views of Her Majesty's Government about these charges.

This Government has, however, on more than one

occasion, notified to Her Majesty's Government that it will attach great value to any suggestions which may be tendered in the interests of British subjects, and it will certainly lend a very willing ear to any friendly advice or hints which may be given by Her Majesty's Government as being the representative of a Power which, with this Republic and the Orange Free State, protects and fosters the paramount interests of South Africa.

His Honor the State President was animated by these sentiments when he accepted the courteous invitation of His Honor President Steyn to proceed to Bloemfontein in order to confer with Your Excellency about matters which are an equal source of interest to this Republic and Her Majesty's Government. These friendly sentiments now prompt it to take the liberty of drawing serious attention to the fact that Her Majesty's Government certainly appear to be supplied with insufficient and incorrect data about facts and occurrences from which erroneous ideas and conclusions are drawn, so that, although desirous of avoiding subjects the discussion of which would be contrary to the Convention, this Government nevertheless feels that it ought to convey to Her Majesty's Government the true position of affairs, and that it ought to point out how the latter is misled, the condition of affairs as depicted in the despatch under reply being in all respects exaggerated, and in many instances entirely untrue.

In the first place, this Government wishes to point out that, so far from the petition which gave rise to the despatch under reply having been signed by 21,684 British subjects, it appears indeed that it was signed by very few people in the South African Re-

public—leaving aside all mention of British subjects. This has been substantiated in many cases by sworn declarations, many of which were handed to His Excellency the High Commissioner during the Conference at Bloemfontein, and this Government feels that it may flatter itself that the British Government, after having examined these documents, will share with this Government the view that this memorial is in itself a matter of very slight importance, even although it may contain the signatures of a certain number of British subjects who hold the opinion that they are entitled to a change in the form of Government because, in violation of the Convention entered into between this Republic and Her Majesty's Government, they will not conform themselves to the laws of the land, but claim alterations therein at their own caprice.

This Government is all the more convinced that this memorial is of no great moment, and that it certainly does not express the feelings of all the so-called Uitlanders, because another memorial has been received by it from about 23,000 inhabitants of this Republic, nearly all Uitlanders, and among whom are several British subjects. The High Commissioner was informed that the signatures to this memorial were obtained in a perfectly *bona fide* way, and this information was supported by sworn affidavits. The purport of this memorial bore evidence to the fact that the thousands of Uitlanders who signed it were satisfied with the administration and the Government of this Republic, and did not share the views of the memorialists to Her Britannic Majesty in respect of what the latter considered to be legitimate grievances.

This Government may further be permitted to point out that although the Uitlander population may have co-operated in effecting an increase in the revenues of the State, principally, as His Excellency has been informed, in custom dues, prospecting licenses, railway receipts, etc., so that the revenue in 1898 amounted to £3,983,360, the fact must not be lost sight of, on the other hand, that gold to the value of £20,000,000 was exported from the State during the same year 1898, almost entirely by the Uitlanders.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that although the chief item in custom dues is collected on goods which are imported at Johannesburg, yet these goods are not entirely used or consumed by the Uitlanders, for a considerable quantity is sent over the whole Republic by the wholesale merchants to the retail dealers who do business with the burghers in the villages and the country, so that much of what is imported into Johannesburg is destined for consumption by the original burgher of the Republic.

With regard to the contention that the mining industry is more heavily taxed than in any other country, and that the cost of the necessities of life is higher, this Government desires to remark that this contention is entirely contradicted by facts and statistics. The value of goods imported into the South African Republic during 1898 amounted to £9,996,575, and the custom duties levied thereon to £1,058,224, or 10.6 per cent. Under the Customs Union of the adjacent British Colonies the import duties amounted to 15 per cent. of the value of the goods, a comparison which yields a difference of nearly 50

per cent. in favor of the Republic. When the matter is examined in detail, the case is even stronger. In the Colonies certain articles, such as breadstuffs, are subject to a special duty of 2s., say about 30 per cent. of the value, in corn, and 40 per cent. in meal. In this Republic the duty on both the foregoing articles is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; butter is especially taxed at 3d. per pound, or 30 per cent., under the Customs Union, while in the Republic it is subject only to the $7\frac{1}{2}$ *ad valorem* duty. Coffee and other necessities of life, on being compared, would show a similar difference, and this Government therefore trusts that Her Majesty's Government will exonerate it when it points out the incorrectness and unreliability of the information supplied to the Secretary of State, on which he bases his conclusion that the cost of living is unusually high in consequence of the taxation levied by the State; that such is not the case will be at once shown by a comparison with the taxation of the neighboring Colonies.

The character of the financial administration must have been erroneously represented to Her Majesty's Government if it was simply stated that defalcations to an amount of £18,590 had taken place. It would *ex facie* appear from such a statement that the above defalcations had taken place during the past year; as a matter of fact, the Inspection Department, which has only recently been called into existence, reported over financial matters covering the years 1884 to 1896.

It is unfair to characterize all deficiencies as defalcations, for from the nature of the case a deficiency does not always constitute a defalcation. The report specified the subdivisions of moneys which had yet

to be accounted for. The first item in such deficiencies amounted originally to £12,000, and of this £6,000 was afterward collected, and the balance was only brought forward; another item of £10,808 11s. was brought forward in its entirety, but £3,000 of this was eventually collected and accounted for, while continual efforts were made to secure the balance. Many items not brought forward were collected long before and accounted for, while during the inspection of last year it was found that a sum of £800 yet remained to be paid in out of the deficiencies, which balance has been accounted for.

The contention that advances to officials amounting to £2,398,506 16s. 8d. have remained unaccounted for is also absolutely incorrect; and the endeavor to pass this circumstance off as constituting defalcations on the part of officials bears ample witness to the strong desire to mislead which has actuated the informants of Her Majesty's Government.

Any person who is even superficially acquainted with financial administration will readily admit that this is due to a system of accounting which was followed until recently by Her Majesty's Government, and which obtains in some British Colonies, in Natal, for instance, at the present moment.

This system may deserve condemnation; it does not, however, necessarily follow that because the advances may not be speedily accounted for they have been embezzled, and it does not appear either from the report of the Inspector of Offices, or from the debates of the Volksraad, that such accusations were made. But in addition to this a sum of at least £1,968,306 is included in the aforesaid total of £2,398,506 16s. 8d. (but which is not comprised in

the customary advances), such as Orphan Chamber £80,000, Indigent Burghers £150,000, Postal Orders £60,000, various loans to School Committees, Sanitary Boards, and for Waterworks, Hospitals, Committees, moneys placed at interest in Europe, provisional loans to Railway Companies, purchases of food-stuffs and mules in time of famine, and many others.

Items, too, of considerable importance appear in the advances, although they have really been accounted for up to within a pound or two, because for one reason or another it has not been possible to write off the exact total, the amount still to be accounted for having dwindled to a very insignificant figure.

The contention that during 1896 a sum of £191,837 was paid out of the Secret Service Money is also absolutely unfounded, for in that amount a sum of £158,337 was included which was used for special Government Works, as was expressly stated in a foot-note on page 44 of the Estimates for 1897. The Secret Service Fund for that year (1896) did not amount to more than £33,500. This faulty information, supplied to Her Majesty's Government, is apparently taken from the said Estimates, it would seem with the fixed determination to ignore the explanatory foot-note on page 44.

It is incorrect to state that the system of granting concessions remains in full force. Where the Right Hon. the Secretary of State in his despatch refers to industrial concessions, this Government may remark that these are privileges granted in order to stimulate and protect local industry, and the contention that these concessions will develop into practical

monopolies is not supported by any evidence; results will show that misleading information has been given here as well.

With regard to the question of education which has been dealt with in the despatch of the Right Hon. the Colonial Secretary, this Government wishes to point out that the amount expended on education during the year 1898 was £226,219 4s. 8d. In the former year it was less. Of this amount £36,503 17s. 2d. was devoted to Education on the Gold Fields (for State as well as for subsidized schools). As the number of scholars under Act 15, 1896, as well as that of the teachers, have considerably increased, the amount during the current year will probably be £53,000. The conditions on which this money is given are certainly not such as to exclude the children of Uitlanders from its benefits. According to Volksraad Resolution of 1st June, 1892 (and amendments), schools where a foreign language was the medium of instruction were entitled to a subsidy of 20s. per pupil per quarter for the lower standard, and 25s. for the middle standard, provided that certain requirements as to knowledge of the official language of the country were complied with. These requirements are a standard lower than that for children of burghers in the country, who are taught in schools governed by Law No. 8 of 1892.

Few, if any, Uitlanders avail themselves of this offer; the few who have done so are now satisfied with it, and continue to enjoy the privileges of the resolution, although it was only renewed in 1898 for those schools which made a *bona fide* use of it. Law No. 15, 1896, made provision for the children of poor parents and strangers on the proclaimed gold fields

entirely at State expense, and 13 schools have been established by this law—with 51 teachers and about 1,500 scholars—at Barberton, Pilgrims' Rest, Kaapsche Hoop, Johannesburg (5, viz., 1 in von Brandis Street, 1 at Braamfontein, 1 at Union Ground, 1 at Vredesdorp, and 1 in Market Street), Maraisburg, Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Klerksdorp, and Nigel. In addition to these, preparations are being made for State schools at the City and Suburban, Bertramstowship, Johannesburg, and at Roodepoort (Krugersdorp).

Out of the above-named 13 schools, English is the medium of instruction in four, and of the remaining nine English is the medium for the children of English-speaking parents, and Dutch for those of Dutch-speaking parents. In these nine schools a little more time is devoted to learning Dutch in each standard than was the case in the former standard, so that equality in both languages is reached at the 5th standard.

Altogether there are 27 Dutch Afrikaner or Hollander teachers, and 24 teachers of English origin in these 13 schools. The Dutch Afrikaner or Hollander teachers are obliged to possess a thorough knowledge of English, and have either to pass an examination or produce a certificate to that effect.

The object of the system of education in this Republic is to insure in the first place the foundation of general knowledge. Law No. 8, 1892, provides this for the children of the original Boer population in their mother tongue, in which the necessary schoolbooks must be written, with this understanding, however, that in the 3d standard three hours, and in the higher ones four hours, per week out of

the 25 must be devoted to education in a foreign language.

With regard to the schools formed under the above-mentioned Resolution, teaching is carried on through the medium of a foreign language, but at least five hours per week must be devoted to the study of the official language of the country.

Of the 13 schools formed under Law 15 of 1896, the children of strangers are instructed in their own language, while the number of hours for instruction in and by means of Dutch is increased in each standard.

According to a Resolution of the First Volksraad, dated the 8th August, 1898, Article 731, a certain number of the School Board members required by Article 1 of Law 15 of 1896 have to be nominated and chosen by the Executive Council out of enfranchised persons (Article 2, Law 8, 1893) proposed by the fathers of the school children, on the understanding that the persons so chosen shall constitute less than half of the whole School Board, and further, that the persons so proposed shall always be double the number of the people actually nominated.

The above facts clearly prove, according to the opinion of this Government, that Her Majesty's Government has also been misled in respect to the matter of education. It is clear that one-fourth of the whole educational vote has been devoted to the gold fields, so that the children of Uitlander residents can make use of it; that proper provision is made for education in the mother tongue whatever it may be, while at the same time compulsory education of the language of the country is also provided for. That both by the Resolution of the 1st June, 1892, as well

as by the Law 15 of 1896, more has actually been done for the Uitlanders than for the original inhabitants, and that more time is given to the mother tongue of the children in the schools on the gold fields of this Republic than in any country in the world, and that here again information of a misleading character must have been given to His Excellency and the British Government.

Law No. 15, 1896, and the schools thereby established have been defended by Englishmen in various newspapers. (See the *S. A. News*, 10th May, 1899; *The Star*, 22d March, 1899; *Manchester Guardian*, etc.).

With reference to the Municipality of Johannesburg, this Government desires to remark that in accordance with the promise made in 1896, the grant of Municipal Administration was made to the inhabitants of Johannesburg by which the control of that town and its suburbs was conferred upon them.

Her Majesty's Government seem to think that this Municipality does not answer its purpose, in the first place because half of the members must be naturalized burghers (not fully enfranchised burghers as the despatch under reply erroneously contends), and in the second place because the financial powers of the town council are restricted.

With regard to the first objection, it is impossible that this should be a great grievance, because a residence of two years in the Republic is sufficient for naturalization; as a matter of fact, more than the necessary half of the members are burghers; this shows conclusively that the requirement of burghership is in no sense an obstacle. The objection as to the restriction of the financial powers of the council

is not conclusive, because there is no Municipality in the world the financial powers of which are not restricted by the law under which they are created, and the restrictions in the case of the town council of Johannesburg are the usual ones in such cases.

The Advisory Board recommended by the Industrial Commission would have proved inefficient because the laws with the administration of which that body would have had to concern itself can be carried out in a better and more efficient way by an official like the State Attorney, who has almost unlimited power and means of doing so. This is exactly what has happened. All complaints with regard to gold thefts have actually disappeared; one no longer hears of complaints as to the operation of the pass law; while latterly, as Her Majesty's Government must be well aware, the Chamber of Mines and other bodies of the Witwatersrand have repeatedly expressed their satisfaction with the stringent way in which the liquor law has been upheld. No local body, however well informed, would have been able to do what the State Attorney has done in this matter, and that is sufficient justification of the action of both Government and Volksraad in refusing to establish such an Advisory Board.

The Government now passes on to the discussion of the administration of justice, of which so much is made in the despatch under reply.

With regard to these allegations, this Government perceives that much importance is attached in the despatch to the so-called Lombard incident, the so-called Edgar case, and the so-called Amphitheatre occurrence.

A brief consideration of the facts referring to

these three matters will show how unfounded are the accusations of Her Majesty's Government.

With reference to the Lombard incident, this Government wishes to point out that no complaint was lodged with any official in this Republic for a full month after the ill-treatment of Cape colored people was alleged to have taken place, and that neither the Government nor the public was aware that anything had taken place. The whole case was so insignificant that some of the people who were alleged to have been ill-treated declared under oath at a later period before a court of investigation that they would never have made any complaint on their own initiative. What happened, however?

About a month after the occurrence the South African League came to hear of it; some of its officials sent round to collect evidence from the parties who were alleged to have been ill-treated, and some sworn declarations were obtained by the help of Her Majesty's Vice-Consul of Johannesburg (between whom and this League a continual and conspicuous co-operation has existed). Even then no charge was lodged against the implicated officials with the judicial authorities of the country, but the case was put in the hands of the Acting British Agent at Pretoria.

When the allegations were brought under the notice of this Government, they at once appointed a commission of inquiry consisting of three members, namely, Landdrost Van der Berg, of Johannesburg, Mr. Andries Stockenstrom, barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple, head of the Criminal Section of the State Attorney's Department, and Mr. Van der Merwe, mining commissioner, of Johannesburg; gentlemen against whose ability and impartiality



GENERAL PIET CRONJE,
Late Division Commander of the Burgher Forces.

the Uitlander population of the Republic have never harbored the slightest suspicion, and with whose appointment the Acting British Agent also expressed his entire satisfaction. The instructions given to these officials were to thoroughly investigate the whole case, and to report the result to the Government; and they fulfilled these instructions by sitting for days at a time, and carefully hearing and sifting the evidence of both sides. Every right-minded person readily acknowledges that far greater weight ought to be attached to the finding of this Commission than to the declarations of the complainants, who contradicted one another in nearly every particular, and who caused the whole inquiry to degenerate into a farce.

According to the report, nothing was proved as to the so-called ill-treatment; the special instances of alleged ill-treatment turned out to be purely imaginary; it was clearly proved and found that the complainants had acted contrary to Law, and the Commission only expressed disapproval of the fact that the arrests and the investigation had taken place at night, and without a proper warrant. It fills this Government with all the greater regret to observe that Her Majesty's Government bases its charges on *ex parte*, groundless, and in many respects false declarations of complainants who have been set in motion by political hatred, and that it silently ignores the report of the Commission.

The Amphitheatre occurrence is used by Her Majesty's Government to show how incapable the police of the Witwatersrand are to fulfil their duties and to preserve order. The League meeting was held at the so-called Amphitheatre at Johannesburg, with

the knowledge of the State Secretary and State Attorney, and the accusation is that, in spite of that fact, the uproar which arose at that meeting was not quelled by the police. The following are the true facts: Mr. Wybergh and another, both in the service of the South African League, informed the State Secretary and the State Attorney that they intended to call this meeting in the Amphitheatre, and asked permission to do so; they were informed that no permission from the authorities was necessary, and that as long as the meeting did not give rise to irregularities or disturbances of the peace, they would be acting entirely within their rights. Their attention was then drawn to the fact that owing to the action and the propaganda of the South African League, this body had become extremely unpopular with a large section of the inhabitants of Johannesburg, and that in all probability a disturbance of the peace would take place if a sufficient body of the police were not present to preserve order. To this these gentlemen answered that the police were in very bad odor since the Edgar case, that the meeting would be a very quiet one, and that the presence of the police would contribute, or give rise to, disorder, and that they would on those grounds rather have no police at all. The State Secretary and State Attorney thereupon communicated with the head officials of the police at Johannesburg, with the result that the latter also thought that it would be better not to have any considerable number of police at the meeting. The Government accordingly, on the advice of these officials of the League as well as their own police officials, gave instructions that the police should remain away from the meeting; they did this

in perfect good faith, and with the object of letting the League have its say without let or hindrance. The proposed meeting was, however, advertised far and wide. As the feeling among a section of the Witwatersrand population was exceedingly bitter against the League, a considerable number of the opponents of that body also attended the meeting. The few police who were present were powerless to quell the disorder, and when the police came on the scene in force some few minutes after the commencement of the uproar, the meeting was already broken up. Taken by itself, this occurrence would not be of much importance, as it is an isolated instance as far as the gold fields of this Republic are concerned, and even in the best organized and best ordered communities irregularities like the above occasionally take place.

The gravity of the matter, however, lies in the unjust accusation of Her Majesty's Government—that the meeting was broken up by officials of this Republic, and that the Government had curtly refused to institute an inquiry.

This Government would not have refused to investigate the matter if any complaints had been lodged with it, or at any of the local Courts, and this has been clearly stated in its reply to Her Majesty's request for an investigation.

The Government objects strongly to the systematic way in which the local authorities are ignored, and the continual complaints which are lodged with the Representatives of Her Majesty about matters which ought to be decided by the Courts of this Republic. Instead, however, of complaining to Her Majesty's Government after all other reasonable

means of redress have been vainly invoked, they continually make themselves guilty of ignoring and treating with contempt the local Courts and authorities, by continually making all sorts of ridiculous and *ex parte* complaints to Her Majesty's Government in the first instance; Her Majesty's Government is also thereby placed in the equivocal and undesirable position of intermeddling in the internal affairs of this Republic, which is in conflict with the London Convention. Had the complaints been lodged with this Government, or with the proper officials or Courts, the facts could have been very easily arrived at, and it would have been proved that the few officials who were present at the meeting as a section of the public had done their best to prevent the irregularities, and that some of them had been hurt in their endeavors to preserve order.

Instead of expressing their disapproval of such complaints, and referring the petitioners to the local Courts, Her Majesty's Government accepts those complaints, and gives them an official character by forwarding them for the information of this Government, and by publishing them in blue books for the information of the world.

Her Majesty's Government will readily acknowledge that there is no State in the world with any sense of dignity, however weak and insignificant it may be, which can regard such matters with an indifferent eye; and when the relations of the two Governments are strained, then the mainspring must be looked for in this action of its subjects, which is not disapproved of by Her Majesty's Government, and not in imaginary or trumped-up grievances.

The Edgar case is referred to by your Government

as "the most striking recent instance of arbitrary action by officials, and of the support of such action by the Courts," and this case is quoted as a conclusive test of the alleged judicial maladministration of this Republic; it will therefore be of interest to pause for a moment and consider it. What are the true facts?

A certain Foster, "an Englishman," was assaulted and felled to the ground, without any lawful cause, by a man named Edgar during the night of the 18th December, 1898; he lay on the ground as if dead, and ultimately died in the hospital. Edgar escaped to his room, and some police came on the scene, attracted by the screams of the bystanders. Among the police was one named Jones. When they saw the man who had been assaulted lying as if dead, they went to Edgar's apartments in order to arrest him as a criminal (he had indeed rendered himself liable for manslaughter, and apparently for murder). As he was caught in the very act, the police officers were, according to the Laws not only of this Republic, but of all South Africa and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, justified in breaking open the door in order to arrest the culprit. While doing so, Edgar, with a dangerous weapon, struck Jones a severe blow. Under the stress of necessity the latter shot Edgar, from the effects of which he died. The question is not if Jones was justified in taking this extreme step, for the State Attorney of the Republic had already given effect to his opinion that this was a case for the jury by prosecuting him for manslaughter. The question is solely whether any jury in any country in the world would have found a man guilty of any crime under

the circumstances set forth, and whether, if they did not find him guilty, the fact of their doing so would have been stamped and branded as a flagrant and remarkable instance of the maladministration of justice.

This Government is convinced that the English Judicial administration affords numberless instances where the facts are as strong as in this case, and it cannot see why an occurrence which could happen in any part of the world should be especially thrown in their teeth in the form of an accusation.

This Government does not wish to pass over in silence the censure which has been passed by Her Majesty's Government on the Public Prosecutor of Johannesburg, by whom the prosecution of this case was conducted; the fact that he is of pure English blood, that he received his legal training in London, that he is generally respected by the Uitlander population on account of his ability, impartiality, and general character, will naturally not be of any weight with Her Majesty's Government against the facts of his action in calling witnesses for the prosecution who were intended for the defence, and thus rendering an imaginary cross-examination abortive.

This Government only wishes to point out that the fact that the Edgar case is the strongest which Her Majesty's Government has been able to quote against the administration of justice in this Republic affords the strongest and most eloquent proof possible that, taking it in general, the administration of justice on the gold fields of this Republic not only compares favorably with that on other and similar gold fields, but even with that of old and settled countries.

The untrue representations of this occurrence in the Press prove conclusively that the newspapers of the Witwatersrand, the atrocity-mongering tactics of which constitute a share of the organized campaign against the Republic and its Government, have been compelled to resort to mendacious criticisms on imaginary instances of maladministration which were often simply invented. Where the Press is forced to adopt such methods, the true grievances must of necessity be unreal.

Her Majesty's Government now proceeds to discuss certain laws of this Republic, with the object of showing that the Uitlander population is also oppressed by the legislature of this country, the Press Laws, the Aliens Expulsion Law, and Law No. 1 of 1897 being especially instanced. But it can also be proved that the population of the gold fields have no solid grounds of complaint in regard to the laws in question.

Respecting the existing Press Laws, No. 26 of 1896, and No. 14 of 1898, it is necessary to remark that no printer, issuer, or editor of a newspaper can be prosecuted unless he has made himself guilty of criminal libel, so that the principle of the Grondwet of 1858 has in this respect been rigidly adhered to. Her Majesty's Government will at once see that these laws cannot in any way bear harshly upon the writing public, a fact which is clearly borne out by the way in which the newspapers of this country are edited. Nowhere else in the world has the liberty of the Press so degenerated into license. No newspaper in any country in the world would for one moment dare to speak of the Government, the Legislature, and authorities of the country as the *Star*,

the *Transvaal Leader*, and similar newspapers do every day in this Republic. The imaginary nature of these grievances is not dispelled by the fact that the power is vested in the State President of prohibiting either entirely or provisionally the circulation of any printed matter which is contrary to good morals or public order, because the very same Supreme Court, which in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government only exists at the mercy of this Government, has pronounced that it has no power to prohibit the circulation of any newspaper; the freedom of the regular Press thus remains as unrestricted as under the old Grondwet.

As a matter of fact, any person who has any practical experience of the Press of this Republic will regard the accusation as ridiculous, and as evincing an entire ignorance of the true facts. This power has not been exercised by the Judges on many occasions, but only once, and in that instance the High Court annulled the decision.

With regard to the Aliens Expulsion Law, this, like the Press Law, ought to be estimated according to its spirit and operation. Since this law has come into force the State President has only on one occasion made use of the power vested in him of expelling an undesirable individual, and his action was indorsed by the approval of the Press and the public of the country. As similar laws exist in nearly every civilized country in the world, it is difficult to see why such a law in this Republic should prove so objectionable in the eyes of Her Majesty's Government.

With regard to Law No. 1 of 1897, and the dismissal of Chief Justice Kotze by virtue of its provisions, this Government can only state that it was with

the bitterest regret that it felt itself compelled, in consequence of the arbitrary action of the said Chief Justice, to take comprehensive measures in order to prevent absolute constitutional and judicial disorder and chaos. It was an instance where a Chief Justice in conflict with a law existing for, at least, forty years, and in direct contradiction of his own decisions, suddenly adopted and applied a new principle, which affected the legality of the laws of the Republic, and produced real constitutional chaos. Would not any other Government under similar circumstances have done exactly what this Republic did, namely, pass a special law in this unusual case, in order to remove the exceptional difficulties?

This law was only applicable to this particular instance, and became inoperative immediately after its application; and this Government cannot understand how suspicion can therefore fall upon the impartial administration of Justice in this Republic. If the Government had acquiesced in the position taken up by the late Chief Justice, then all titles dependent upon Volksraad resolutions would have been called in question, which would not only have dealt a heavy blow to existing rights, but also have plunged the administration of Justice in great uncertainty and doubt.

By this law the Judges, instead of being brought under the influence of the Executive Council, were really placed in the same constitutional position as any Judge in the Supreme Court of England, who is unable to question the validity of any law.

This Government has now traversed the various contentions of Her Majesty's Government, which have been submitted in order to prove that the pol-

icy of this Government, with regard to the Uitlander population and the administration of the laws, especially on the gold fields, are the causes of the strained relationship at present existing between the two Governments.

This Government believes that this explanation and answer will clearly show that these causes are in no way sufficient to have resulted in the aforesaid tension. It is of opinion that the source of evil must be sought for elsewhere, and it trusts that Her Majesty's Government will not take it in bad part if it now proceeds to explain what the real root of the evil is from its point of view; and in the first place it remarks as a very noticeable and prominent fact that although there are thousands of subjects of other Powers in Johannesburg, there are few complaints heard from them or from their Governments about the so-called grievances of the Uitlanders. If these grievances existed in reality, and if they pressed equally on all so-called Uitlanders (and Her Majesty's Government does not contend that in this respect a difference is made between British subjects and subjects of other Powers), how does it happen that the complaints always come from British subjects, and that the subjects of other Powers, as a rule, express their sympathy with this Government and promise it their support?

But this Government wishes to go further. Even in regard to those Uitlanders who are British subjects, it is a small minority which, under the pretext of imaginary grievances, promotes a secret propaganda of race hatred, and uses the Republic as a base for fomenting a revolutionary movement against this Government. Ministers of Her Majesty have so

trenchantly expressed the truth about this minority that this Government wishes to quote the very words of these Ministers with the object of bringing the actual truth to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, as well as to that of the whole world, and not for the purpose of making groundless accusations.

The following words are those of the Ministers of the Cape Colony, who are well acquainted with local conditions and fully qualified to arrive at a conclusion:

"In the opinion of Ministers the persistent action, both beyond and within this Colony, of the political body styling itself the South African League in endeavoring to foment and excite, not to smooth and allay, ill-will between the two principal European races inhabiting South Africa is well illustrated by these resolutions, the exaggerated and aggravated terms of which disclose the spirit which informs and inspires them.

"His Excellency's Ministers are one in their earnest desire to do all in their power to aid and further a policy of peaceful progress throughout South Africa, and they cannot but regard it as an unwise propagandism, hostile to the true interests of the Empire, including this Colony as an integral part, that every possible occasion should be seized by the League and its promoters for an attempt to magnify into greater events minor incidents when occurring in the South African Republic, with a prospect thereby of making racial antagonism more acute, or of rendering less smooth the relations between Her Majesty's Government or the Government of this Colony and that Republic."

Race hatred is, however, not so intense in South Africa as to enable a body with this propaganda, aiming at revolutionary objects, to obtain much influence in this part of the world; and one continually asks oneself the question—"How is it that a body so insignificant, both in regard to its principles and its membership, enjoys such a large measure of influence?" The answer is that this body depends upon the protection and the support of Her Majesty's Government in England, and that both its members and its organs in the Press openly boast of the influence they exercise over the policy of Her Majesty's Government. This Government would ignore such assertions, but when it finds that the ideas and the shibboleths of the South African League are continually echoed in the speeches of members of H. M. Government, when it finds that blue books are compiled chiefly from documents prepared by officials of the South African League, as well as from reports and leading articles containing "malignant lies" taken from the Press organs of that organization, thereby receiving an official character, then this Government can well understand why so many of Her Majesty's right-minded subjects in this part of the world have obtained the impression that the policy advocated by the South African League is supported by Her Majesty's Government, and is thus calculated to contribute to the welfare and blessing of the British Empire.

If this mistaken impression could be removed, and if it could be announced as a fact that the South African League, as far as its actions in the South African Republic are concerned, is only an organization having as its object the fomentation of strife and dis-

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SAND RIVER CONVENTION OF 1852.

1. The Assistant Commissioners guarantee, in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the Emigrant Farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government; and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond, to the north of the Vaal River; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the Emigrant Farmers now inhabiting, or who hereafter may inhabit, that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.
2. Should any misunderstanding hereafter arise as to the true meaning of the words "the Vaal River," this question, in so far as regards the line from the source of that river over the Drakensberg, shall be settled and adjusted by commissioners chosen by both parties.
3. Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the colored nations to the north of the Vaal River.
4. It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the Emigrant Farmers.

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the proper authorities of the Emigrant Farmers shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle children of such marriages to receive portions accruing to them in any British colony or possession in South Africa.

9. It is agreed that any and every person now in possession of land and residing in British Territory shall have free right and power to sell his said property and remove unmolested across the Vaal River, and *vice versa*; it being distinctly understood that this arrangement does not comprehend criminals or debtors without providing for the payment of their just and lawful debts.

(Signed)

A. W. J. PRETORIUS, *Commandant General*.

H. S. LOMBARD, *Landdrost*.

W. F. JOUBERT, *Commandant General*.

G. J. KRUGER, *Commandant*.

W. S. HOGGE, *Assistant Commissioner*.

C. MOSTYN OWEN, *Assistant Commissioner*.

J. N. GROBBELAAR, *Member of the Volksraad*.

P. E. SCHOLTZ.

F. G. WOLMARANS, *Elder*.

J. A. VAN ASWEGEN, *Fieldcornet*.

F. J. BOTES.

N. J. S. BASSON, *Fieldcornet*.

J. P. FURSTENBERG, *Fieldcornet*.

J. P. PRETORIUS.

J. H. GROBBELAAR.

J. M. LEHMAN.

P. SCHUTTE.

J. C. KLOPPER.

In presence of:

JOHN BURNET.

J. H. VISAGIE.

THE PRETORIA CONVENTION OF 1881.

PREAMBLE. Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Settlement of the Transvaal territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April, 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee on behalf of Her Majesty that, from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations:

ARTICLE 1. The said territory, to be hereinafter called the Transvaal State, will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit: [here follow three pages in print defining boundaries.]

ARTICLE 2. Her Majesty reserves to herself, her heirs and successors, (a) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are hereinafter defined; (b) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any Foreign State or Native Tribe in South Africa; and (c) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse

with Foreign Powers, such intercourse to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

ARTICLE 3. Until altered by the Volksraad, or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal territory to Her Majesty's dominions, shall, except in so far as they are inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State in so far as they shall be applicable thereto, provided that no future enactment especially affecting the interest of natives shall have any force or effect in the said State, without the consent of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident; provided further that in no case will the repeal or amendment of any laws enacted since the annexation have a retrospective effect, so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

ARTICLE 4. On the 8th day of August, 1881, the Government of the said State, together with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened, and the Volksraad, thus elected and convened, will decide as to the further administration of the Government of the said State.

ARTICLE 5. All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules

of civilized warfare committed during the recent hostilities will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without Her Majesty's consent conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the jails of the Transvaal State whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by Her Majesty's Administrator or other officer administering the Government, such remission will be recognized and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

ARTICLE 6. Her Majesty's Government will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by Her Majesty's forces during the recent hostilities, except such losses or damage as may already have been compensated for, and the Government of the Transvaal State will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article hereinafter specified which may have been committed by the people who were in arms against Her Majesty during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damages as may already have been compensated for.

ARTICLE 7. The decision of all claims for compensation, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, will be referred to a Sub-Commission, consisting of the Honorable George Hudson, the Honorable Jacobus Petrus de Wet, and the Honorable John Gilbert Kotzé. In case one or more of such Sub-Commissioners shall be unable or unwilling to act, the remaining Sub-Commissioner or Sub-Commissioners

will, after consultation with the Government of the Transvaal State, submit for the approval of Her Majesty's High Commissioners the names of one or more persons to be appointed by them to fill the place or places thus vacated. The decision of the said Sub-Commissioners, or of a majority of them, will be final. The said Sub-Commissioners will enter upon and perform their duties with all convenient speed. They will, before taking evidence or ordering evidence to be taken in respect of any claim, decide whether such claim can be entertained at all under the rules laid down in the next succeeding Article. In regard to claims which can be so entertained, the Sub-Commissioners will, in the first instance, afford every facility for an amicable arrangement as to the amount payable in respect of any claim, and only in cases in which there is no reasonable ground for believing that an immediate amicable arrangement can be arrived at will they take evidence or order evidence to be taken. For the purpose of taking evidence and reporting thereon, the Sub-Commissioners may appoint Deputies, who will, without delay, submit records of the evidence and their reports to the Sub-Commissioners. The Sub-Commissioners will arrange their sittings and the sittings of their Deputies in such a manner as to afford the earliest convenience to the parties concerned and their witnesses. In no case will costs be allowed to either side, other than the actual and reasonable expenses of witnesses whose evidence is certified by the Sub-Commissioners to have been necessary. Interest will not run on the amount of any claim, except as is hereinafter provided for. The said Sub-Commissioners will forthwith, after deciding upon any claim,



GOVERNMENT BUILDING, PRETORIA.

announce their decision to the Government against which the award is made and to the claimant. The amount of remuneration payable to the Sub-Commissioners and their Deputies will be determined by the High Commissioners. After all the claims have been decided upon, the British Government and the Government of the Transvaal State will pay proportionate shares of the said remuneration and of the expenses of the Sub-Commissioners and their Deputies, according to the amount awarded against them respectively.

ARTICLE 8. For the purpose of distinguishing claims to be accepted from those to be rejected, the Sub-Commissioners will be guided by the following rules, viz. : Compensation will be allowed for losses or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz., (*a*) commandeering, seizure, confiscation, or destruction of property, or damage done to property; (*b*) violence done or threats used by persons in arms. In regards to acts under (*a*), compensation will be allowed for direct losses only. In regard to acts falling under (*b*), compensation will be allowed for actual losses of property, or actual injury to the same proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment. No claims for indirect losses, except such as are in this Article specially provided for, will be entertained. No claims which have been handed in to the Secretary of the Royal Commission after the 1st day of July, 1881, will be entertained, unless the Sub-Commissioners shall be satisfied that the delay was reasonable. When claims for loss of property are considered, the Sub-Commissioners will require distinct proof of the existence of the prop-

erty, and that it neither has reverted nor will revert to the claimant.

ARTICLE 9. The Government of the Transvaal State will pay and satisfy the amount of every claim awarded against it within one month after the Sub-Commissioners shall have notified their decision to the said Government, and in default of such payment the said Government will pay interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum from the date of such default; but Her Majesty's Government may at any time before such payment pay the amount, with interest, if any, to the claimant in satisfaction of his claim, and may add the sum thus paid to any debt which may be due by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government, as hereinafter provided for.

ARTICLE 10. The Transvaal State will be liable for the balance of the debts for which the South African Republic was liable at the date of annexation, to wit, the sum of £48,000 in respect of the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, and £85,667 in respect to the Railway Loan, together with the amount due on 8th August, 1881, on account of the Orphan Chamber Debt, which now stands at £22,200, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the State. The Transvaal State will, moreover, be liable for the lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the Province since the annexation, to wit, the sum of £265,000, which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the 9th Article, will be second charge upon the revenues of the State.

ARTICLE 11. The debts due as aforesaid by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent.,

and any portion of such debt as may remain unpaid at the expiration of twelve months from the 8th August, 1881, shall be repayable by a payment for interest and sinking fund of six pounds and ninepence per cent. per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per £100 shall be payable half yearly in British currency on the 8th February and 8th August in each year. Provided, always, that the Transvaal State shall pay in reduction of the said debt the sum of £100,000 within twelve months of the 8th August, 1881, and shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

ARTICLE 12. All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August, 1881, will continue after the said date to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities, and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

ARTICLE 13. Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will, in every case, be made to and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission, hereinafter mentioned, in trust for such natives.

ARTICLE 14. Natives will be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for

the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere or for other lawful purposes, subject always to the pass laws of the said State, as amended by the Legislature of the Province, or as may hereafter be enacted under the provisions of the Third Article of this Convention.

ARTICLE 15. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order, and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

ARTICLE 16. The provisions of the Fourth Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

ARTICLE 17. The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions; he will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal, and if need be for the expropriation of land for the purpose.

ARTICLE 18. The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident: Sub-section 1, he will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a *Chargé d'Affaires* and *Consul-General*.

Sub-section 2. In regard to natives within the Transvaal State he will (*a*) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to

the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (*b*) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of natives or attempts to incite natives to rebellion that may come to his knowledge; (*c*) use his influence with the natives in favor of law and order; and (*d*) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of the person and property of natives as are consistent with the laws of the land.

Sub-section 3. In regard to natives not residing in the Transvaal (*a*) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment has been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (*b*) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with native chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (*c*) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between Transvaal residents and natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested.

Sub-section 4. In regard to communications with foreign powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with Her Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

ARTICLE 19. The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined

in the First Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachment upon lands beyond the said State. The Royal Commission will forthwith appoint a person who will beacon off the boundary line between Ramatlabama and the point where such line first touches Griqualand West boundary, midway between the Vaal and Hart rivers; the person so appointed will be instructed to make an arrangement between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs.

ARTICLE 20. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of Transvaal State, as defined, Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State, and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation either in land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any native chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the First Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the

loss of the land thus excluded, and of the permanent improvement thereon.

ARTICLE 21. Forthwith, after the taking effect of this Convention, a Native Location Commission will be constituted, consisting of the President, or in his absence the Vice-President of the State, or some one deputed by him, the Resident, or some one deputed by him, and a third person to be agreed upon by the President or the Vice-President, as the case may be, and the Resident, and such Commission will be a standing body for the performance of the duties hereinafter mentioned.

ARTICLE 22. The Native Location Commission will reserve to the native tribes of the State such locations as they may be fairly and equitably entitled to, due regard being had to the actual occupation of such tribes. The Native Location Commission will clearly define the boundaries of such locations, and for that purpose will, in every instance, first of all ascertain the wishes of the parties interested in such land. In case land already granted in individual titles shall be required for the purpose of any location, the owners will receive such compensation either in other land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. After the boundaries of any location have been fixed, no fresh grant of land within such location will be made, nor will the boundaries be altered without the consent of the Location Commission. No fresh grants of land will be made in the districts of Waterberg, Zoutpansberg, and Lydenburg until the locations in the said districts respectively shall have been defined by the said Commission.

ARTICLE 23. If not released before the taking ef-

fect of this Convention, Secoecoeni, and those of his followers who have been imprisoned with him, will be forthwith released, and the boundaries of his location will be defined by the Native Location Commission in the manner indicated in the last preceding Article.

ARTICLE 24. The independence of the Swazies within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the First Article of this Convention, will be fully recognized.

ARTICLE 25. No other or higher duties will be imposed on the importation into the Transvaal State of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article the produce or manufacture of any other country, nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

ARTICLE 26. All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (*a*) will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactures, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or

local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

ARTICLE 27. All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the protection and defence of their rights.

ARTICLE 28. All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April, 1877, and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registration to the Government of the Transvaal State.

ARTICLE 29. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's forces.

ARTICLE 30. All debts contracted since the annexation will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted; all uncanceled postage and other revenue stamps issued by the Government since the annexation will remain valid, and will be accepted at their present value by the future Government of the State; all licenses duly issued since the annexation will remain in force during the period for which they may have been issued.

ARTICLE 31. No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfer of mortgage which may have been passed since the annexation, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed since that date. All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for natives will remain in force, the Native Location Commis-

sion taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

ARTICLE 32. This Convention will be ratified by a newly elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

ARTICLE 33. Forthwith, after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out. [Articles end. Here will follow signatures of Royal Commissioners, then the following to precede signatures of triumvirate]:

We, the undersigned, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, as representatives of the Transvaal Burghers, do hereby agree to all the above conditions, reservations, and limitations under which self-government has been restored to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and we agree to accept the Government of the said territory, with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, on the 8th day of August; and we promise and undertake that this Convention shall be ratified by a newly elected Volksraad of the Transvaal State within three months from this date.

THE LONDON CONVENTION OF 1884.

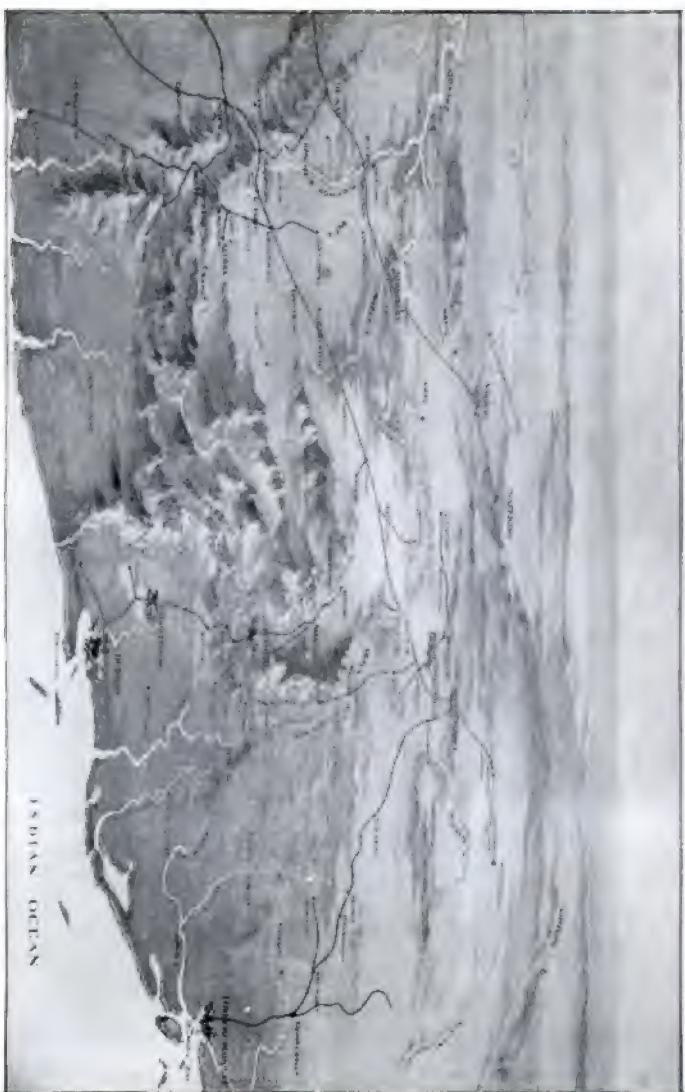
Whereas the Government of the Transvaal State, through its Delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the said State, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, Superintendent of Education, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, a member of the Volksraad, have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3d day of August, 1881, and ratified by the Volksraad of the said State on the 25th October, 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient, and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved, and that the southwestern boundaries fixed by the said Convention should be amended, with a view to promote the peace and good order of the said State, and of the countries adjacent thereto; and whereas Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration: Now, therefore, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared, that the following articles of a new Convention, signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the Right Honorable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and on be-

half of the Transvaal State (which shall hereinafter be called the South African Republic) by the above-named Delegates, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, shall, when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic, be substituted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 3d August, 1881; which latter, pending such ratification, shall continue in full force and effect.

ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I. The Territory of the South African Republic will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit:

Beginning from the point where the northeastern boundary line of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River, up the course of the Vaal River to the point of junction with it of the Klip River; thence up the course of the Klip River to the point of junction with it of the stream called Gansvlei; thence up the Gansvlei stream to its source in the Drakensberg; thence to a beacon in the boundary of Natal, situated immediately opposite and close to the source of the Gansvlei stream; thence in a northeasterly direction along the ridge of the Drakensberg, dividing the waters flowing into the Gansvlei stream from the waters flowing into the sources of the Buffalo, to a beacon on a point where this mountain ceases to be a continuous chain; thence to a beacon on a plain to the northeast of the last described beacon; thence to the nearest source of a small stream called "Division Stream"; thence down this division stream, which forms the southern boundary of the farm



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE SEAT OF WAR.

Sandfontein, the property of Messrs. Meek, to its junction with the Coldstream; thence down the Coldstream to its junction with the Buffalo or Umzinyati River; thence down the course of the Buffalo River to the junction with it of the Blood River; thence up the course of the Blood River to the junction with it of Lyn Spruit or Dudusi; thence up the Dudusi to its source; thence 80 yards to Bea. I., situated on a spur of the N'Qaba-Ka-hawana Mountains; thence 80 yards to the N'Sonto River; thence down the N'Sonto River to its junction with the White Umvulozi River; thence up the White Umvulozi River to a white rock where it rises; thence 800 yards to Kambula Hill (Bea. II.); thence to the source of the Pemvana River, where the road from Kambula Camp to Burgers' Laager crosses; thence down the Pemvana River to its junction with the Bivana River; thence down the Bivana River to its junction with the Pongolo River; thence down the Pongolo River to where it passes through the Libombo Range; thence along the summits of the Libombo Range to the northern point of the N'Yawos Hill in that range (Bea. XVI.); thence to the northern peak of the Inkwakweni Hills (Bea. XV.); thence to Sefunda, a rocky knoll detached from and to the northeast end of the White Koppies, and to the south of the Musana River (Bea. XIV.); thence to a point on the slope near the crest of Matanjani, which is the name given to the southeastern portion of the Mahamba Hills (Bea. XIII.); thence to the N'gwangwana, a double-pointed hill (one point is bare, the other wooded, the beacon being on the former), on the left bank of the Assegai River and upstream of the Dadusa Spruit (Bea.

XII.); thence to the southern point of Bendita, a rocky knoll in a plain between the Little Hlozane and Assegai Rivers (Bea. XI.); thence to the highest point of Suluka Hill, round the eastern slopes of which flows the Little Hlozane, also called Ludaka or Mudspruit (Bea. X.); thence to the beacon known as "Viljoen's," or N'Duko Hill; thence to a point northeast of Derby House, known as Magwazidili's Beacon; thence to the Igaba, a small knoll on the Ungwempisi River, also called "Joubert's Beacon," and known to the natives as "Piet's Beacon" (Bea. IX.); thence to the highest point of the N'Dhlovudwalili or Houtbosch, a hill on the northern bank of the Umqwempisi River (Bea. VIII.); thence to a beacon on the only flat-topped rock, about 10 feet high and about 30 yards in circumference at its base, situated on the south side of the Lamsamane range of hills, and overlooking the valley of the great Usuto River; this rock being 45 yards north of the road from Camden and Lake Banagher to the forests on the Usuto River (sometimes called Sandhlanas Beacon) (Bea. VII.); thence to the Gulungwana or Ibubulundi, four smooth bare hills, the highest in that neighborhood, situated to the south of the Um-tuli River (Bea. VI.); thence to a flat-topped rock, 8 feet high, on the crest of the Busuku, a low rocky range southwest of the Impulazi River (Bea. V.); thence to a low bare hill on the northeast of, and overlooking the Impulazi River, to the south of it being a tributary of the Impulazi, with a considerable waterfall, and the road from the river passing 200 yards to the northwest of the beacon (Bea. IV.); thence to the highest point of the Mapumula range, the watershed of the Little Usuto River on the north,

and the Umpulazi River on the south, the hill, the top of which is a bare rock, falling abruptly toward the Little Usuto (Bea. III.); thence to the western point of a double-pointed rocky hill, precipitous on all sides, called Makwana, its top being a bare rock (Bea. II.); thence to the top of a rugged hill of considerable height falling abruptly to the Komati River, this hill being the northern extremity of the Isilotwani range, and separated from the highest peak of the range Inkomokazi (a sharp cone) by a deep neck (Bea. I.). (On a ridge in the straight line between Beacons I. and II. is an intermediate beacon.) From Beacon I. the boundary runs to a hill across the Komati River, and thence along the crest of the range of hills known as the Makongwa, which runs northeast and southwest, to Kamhlubana Peak; thence in a straight line to Mananga, a point in the Libombo range, and thence to the nearest point in the Portuguese frontier on the Libombo range; thence along the summits of the Libombo range to the middle of the port where the Komati River passes through it, called the lowest Komati Poort; thence in a north-by-easterly direction to Pokioens Kop, situated on the north side of the Olifant's River, where it passes through the ridges; thence about north-northwest to the nearest point of Serra di Chicundo; and thence to the junction of the Pafori River with the Limpopo or Crocodile River; thence up the course of the Limpopo River to the point where the Marique River falls into it.; thence up the course of the Marique River to "Derde Poort," where it passes through a low range of hills, called Sikwane, a beacon (No. 10) being erected on the spur of said range near to, and westward of, the

banks of the river; thence, in a straight line, through this beacon to a beacon (No. 9), erected on the top of the same range, about 1,700 yards distant from beacon No. 10; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 8) erected on the highest point of an isolated hill, called Dikgagong, or "Wildebeest Kop," situated southeastward of, and about $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles distant from a high hill, called Morige; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 7) erected on the summit of an isolated hill or "koppie" forming the eastern extremity of the range of hills called Moshweu, situated to the northward of, and about two miles distant from, a large isolated hill called Chukudu-Chochwa; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 6) erected on the summit of a hill forming part of the same range, Moshweu; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 5) erected on the summit of a pointed hill in the same range; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 4) erected on the summit of the western extremity of the same range; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 3) erected on the summit of the northern extremity of a low, bushy hill, or "Koppie," near to and eastward of the Notwane River; thence, in a straight line, to the junction of the stream called Metsi-Mashwane with the Notwane River (No. 2); thence up the course of the Notwane River to Sengoma, being the Poort where the river passes through the Dwarsberg range; thence, as described in the Award given by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, dated October 17, 1871, by Pitlanganyane (narrow place), Deboaganka or Schaapkuil, Sibatoul (bare place), and Macclase, to Ramatlabama, a pool on a spruit north of the Molopo River. From Ramatlabama the boundary shall run

to the summit of an isolated hill, called Leganka; thence, in a straight line, passing northeast of a Native Station, near "Buurman's Drift," on the Molopo River, to that point on the road from Mosiega to the old drift, where a road turns out through the Native Station to the new drift below; thence to "Buurman's Old Drift"; thence, in a straight line, to a marked and isolated clump of trees near to and northwest of the dwelling-house of C. Austin, a tenant on the farm "Vleifontein," No. 117; thence, in a straight line, to the northwestern corner beacon of the farm "Mooimeisjesfontein," No. 30; thence, along the western line of the said farm "Mooimeisjesfontein," and in prolongation thereof, as far as the road leading from "Ludik's Drift," on the Molopo River, past the homestead of "Mooimeisjesfontein," toward the Salt Pans near Harts River; thence, along the said road, crossing the direct road from Polfontein to Sehuba, and until the direct road from Polfontein to Lotlakane or Pietfontein is reached; thence, along the southern edge of the last-named road toward Lotlakane, until the first garden ground of that station is reached; thence, in a south-westerly direction, skirting Lotlakane, so as to leave it and all its garden ground in native territory, until the road from Lotlakane to Kunana is reached; thence, along the east side, and clear of that road toward Kunana, until the garden grounds of that station are reached; thence, skirting Kunana, so as to include it and all its garden ground, but no more, in the Transvaal, until the road from Kunana to Mamusa is reached; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road toward Mamusa, until a road turns out toward Taungs; thence, along the eastern

side and clear of the road toward Taungs, till the line of the district known as "Stellaland" is reached, about 11 miles from Taungs; thence, along the line of the district Stellaland, to the Harts River, about 24 miles below Mamusa; thence, across Harts River, to the junction of the roads from Monthe and Phokwane; thence, along the western side and clear of the nearest road toward "Koppie Enkel," an isolated hill about 36 miles from Mamusa, and about 18 miles north of Christiana, and to the summit of the said hill; thence, in a straight line, to that point on the northeast boundary of Griqualand West as beacons by Mr. Surveyor Ford, where two farms, registered as Nos. 72 and 75, do meet, about midway between the Vaal and Harts Rivers, measured along the said boundary of Griqualand West; thence to the first point where the northeast boundary of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River.

ARTICLE II. The Government of the South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government of the South African Republic will appoint Commissioners upon the eastern and western borders whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing over the boundaries. Her Majesty's Government will, if necessary, appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the eastern and western borders of the South African Republic to maintain order and prevent encroachments.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic will each appoint a

person to proceed together to beacon off the amended southwest boundary as described in Article I. of this Convention; and the President of the Orange Free State shall be requested to appoint a referee to whom the said persons shall refer any questions on which they may disagree respecting the interpretation of the said Article, and the decision of such referee thereon shall be final. The arrangement already made, under the terms of Article 19 of the Convention of Pretoria of the 3d August, 1881, between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs, shall continue in force.

ARTICLE III. If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge functions analogous to those of a Consular officer he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

ARTICLE IV. The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa

ARTICLE V. The South African Republic will be liable for any balance which may still remain due of the debts for which it was liable at the date of Annexation, to wit, the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, the Railway Loan, and the Orphan Chamber Debt, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the Republic. The South African Republic will moreover be liable to Her Majesty's Government for £250,000, which will be a second charge upon the revenues of the Republic.

ARTICLE VI. The debt due as aforesaid by the South African Republic to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent., from the date of the ratification of this Convention, and shall be repayable by a payment for interest and Sinking Fund of six pounds and ninepence per £100 per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per £100 shall be payable half-yearly, in British currency, at the close of each half year from the date of such ratification: Provided always that the South African Republic shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. on the debt as standing under the Convention of Pretoria shall as heretofore be paid to the date of the ratification of this Convention.

ARTICLE VII. All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August, 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12th April, 1877. No person who has remained loyal to

Her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

ARTICLE VIII. The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

ARTICLE IX. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

ARTICLE X. The British Officer appointed to reside in the South African Republic will receive every assistance from the Government of the said Republic in making due provision for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's Forces as have died in the Transvaal; and if need be, for the appropriation of land for the purpose.

ARTICLE XI. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, as defined in Article I., shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the South African Republic; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no

effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

ARTICLE XII. The independence of the Swazis, within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognized.

ARTICLE XIII. Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article IV. of the Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the considera-

tion of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

ARTICLE XIV. All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

ARTICLE XV. All persons, other than natives, who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April, 1877, and the 8th August, 1881, and who within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have had their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

ARTICLE XVI. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's Forces.

ARTICLE XVII. All debts contracted between the 12th April, 1877, and the 8th August, 1881, will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.

ARTICLE XVIII. No grants of land which may

have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed between the 12th April, 1877, and the 8th August, 1881, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed between such dates.

All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, an officer of the South African Republic taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

ARTICLE XIX. The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent, (1) as to the freedom of the natives to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions, (2) as to the appointment of a commission to mark out native locations, (3) as to the access of the natives to the courts of law, and (4) as to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

ARTICLE XX. This Convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Signed in duplicate in London this 27th day of February, 1884.

(Signed)	HERCULES ROBINSON.
(Signed)	S. J. P. KRUGER.
(Signed)	S. J. DU TOIT.
(Signed)	M. J. SMIT.

“HET VOLKSLIED.”

THE following is a translation of “Het Volkslied,”
the national hymn of the South African Republic:

Know ye the folk of fearless soul,
Though long oppressed by might?
They sacrifice their blood, their all,
For freedom and for right.
Come, Burghers, let our flags be streaming—
Submit not patiently;
The broadswords of our braves be gleaming—
A people free are we,
A people free,
A people free,
A people free, yes, free are we.

Know ye the land, but seldom sought,
And yet so rich and fair—
Where Nature her great wonders wrought,
And lavishes her care?
Transvaalers, free your hearts with singing,
'Tis there we took our stand;
Where echoes of our joyous guns are ringing,
There is our fatherland,
That glorious land,
That glorious land,
There is, there is, our fatherland.

Know ye the state?—a child at school
'Mong other realms it may be;
But still the mighty British rule
Did once declare it free.
Transvaalers, vainly have we striven—
Our lot's but pain and hate;
But God to us has rescue given,
And we possess our State—
Praise be to God,
Praise be to God,
Praise God for land and state.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents.
Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1902. Postpaid at Special Rate of \$3.75 Per Annum.
Acceptance for mailing at Special Rate of Postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917.
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Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

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